National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment—Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

VOL. X.—NO. 27. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1849. WHOLE NUMBER 495.

The Anti-Slavery Standard,
PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE
AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

Office of Publication 142 Nassau Street, New York: Terms—Two Dollars per annum.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to S. H. Gay, New York.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to Francis Jackson, Treasurer, at Boston; or S. H. Gay, New-York.

E. NORRIS, PRINTER.

The Southern Press.

From the (Richmond Va.) Republican.

THE UNION.

There is no word which awakens more inspiring emotions in the heart of every American citizen than this—the *Union*. It rouses his proudest recollections, it appeals to his dearest hopes. He looks upon his country, and when he sees the grand position which she occupies among the nations of the world, he feels a new reverence for that true "holy alliance" of States, by which her immense national greatness has been achieved with such almost miraculous speed. If he be a wanderer abroad, there is nothing in the wealth and magnificence of the Old World which so stirs the deep fountains of his soul, as when, upon some distant sea, he meets one of the national vessels of his country, her frowning armament speaking of power to every eye, and her flag bright with the emblems of that Union which is the source of all her power.

There is no doubt that the dearest prospects of the liberty of the whole nation are involved in the preservation of the Union as it is. With an honest and faithful observance of the national compact, on the part of the people of the several States, there is nothing in the dissimilarity of the institutions and productions of the various sections of the Union to weaken and dissolve the tie by which they are held in a common confederacy. On the contrary, this variety would conduce to the preservation of freedom, and to the common prosperity. The tendency of public sentiment in the non-slaveholding States to that wild democracy which pushes liberty into licentiousness, would be curbed and regulated by the more conservative spirit engendered by slave institutions. The diversity of productions would be but another band of union, inasmuch as it avoids clashing interests, and makes one section dependent on another for articles of comfort and necessity. Never was there a country possessing such boundless capabilities of future magnificence and happiness, were its moral atmosphere but pure and cloudless. Yet, the unrivalled wisdom manifested in our Constitution, and the personal interest of liberty, life and prosperity, which every citizen possesses, in the preservation of the Union, will be insufficient guarantees of the permanency of our form of government, unless the people of all sections conscientiously and honestly abide by the provisions of the national contract into which they have entered. If one section violates the Constitution, another will hold itself perfectly justifiable in following its example. The North looks with great horror upon South Carolina nullification, but the North should be the last to cast stones at an erring brother. The North, in the single matter of harboring and concealing fugitive slaves, has set the rest of the Union an example of reckless lawlessness and total disregard of the Consitution, which South Carolina, in her maddest mood, has never surpassed. And what is the spectacle which we now witness in the non-slaveholding States? Why, nothing more nor less than a general and systematic attempt to excite, for party purposes, the passions of the whole community against the South and her institutions. A more flagrant violation of the spirit of the Constitution, and a more powerful instrument to rend the Union to pieces, cannot be conceived.

It behoves all truly conservative minds, in every portion of the country, to put forth their influence to arrest this Slavery agitation, and suffer it no longer to be used as a party engine. The only danger to the American Union arises from this subject. It is the single rock upon an otherwise smooth sea. A prudent mariner would steer clear of it. What can be easier, with ordinary sense and calmness, than to avoid it? For, let it be recollected, the Slavery portion of the Union puts forth no claims, demands no concessions, but only asks that things may remain as they are. It is admitted, even at the North, that the most inflaming question with which they are agitating the public mind, that of Slavery extension, is entirely an abstraction. Who could believe, unless he saw it, that a cool, calculating, long-headed nation, like this of ours, would risk national union, national peace, national existence, upon an acknowledged abstraction?

The South also has its duty to perform, as well as the North. Let it put its ban upon Slavery agitation for party purposes. Let it know nothing of party upon such a subject. Let its sons stand together like a family of brothers. Let them discard all angry and exciting words, and without yielding a hair's breadth of their rights, present an attitude at once conciliatory and firm, friendly and fearless.

Everything is at stake in the preservation of our Union. The oppressed of every land have long looked to it as their only example, their only hope, their only consolation. It has been to them like the pillar of cloud which led the travel-worn feet of the children of Israel, and its dissolution would be to them as if that pillar had been rent in twain, and, dissolving in the air, had left the camp which followed it in the midst of the gloomy desert, without compass or guide. It is not too much to say, that the cause of Republicanism throughout the world depends upon the stability of our own confederacy. Our own interests, happiness and peace are all embarked in that vessel. Disunion must inevitably be followed by civil war, and when and how such a war will end who can tell?

A BROADSIDE FROM THE COURIER.

From the Charleston *Courier* of yesterday we extract the subjoined editorial comments on the Mississippi Convention, which place that veteran and able journal on the highest ground in relation to the great question of Southern Safety. We rejoice in so potent an ally to that great cause, which long has occupied our pen and press, and heartily coincide in its closing recommendations. One thing only in that article is to be regretted—the allusion to past divisions with which it commences, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, in which we and many others cannot concur.—*Columbia* (S. C.) *Telegraph.*

"A Southern Convention.—It is truly a subject of congratulation that our younger sister Mississippi should have taken the *initiative* in this all-important measure—a measure, we sincerely believe, of present security to the South, and ultimate harmony and prosperity to the Union. We have ever, along with the patriotic Cheves, favored the concerted action of the South, on all matters of common concern or common grievance to the South. When our State, inflamed into angry and intemperate excitement on the Tariff question hurried herself into the unwise and inefficient scheme of nullification, we counselled and warmly advocated a Southern convention, under the firm conviction that the mere assemblage of such a body would have sufficed to redress the wrong of which the South complained. Such is our conviction now, when a question of infinitely greater magnitude—one indeed of vital concern—demands the united counsels and common action of the aggrieved and insulted South. Let the South meet in her strength as one man, and say to the encroaching North, 'hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed;' and it requires neither the gift of prophecy, nor extraordinary sagacity, to divine that the threatened injustice—the impending insult will never be consummated. Nothing but the diversions of the South have hitherto induced and encouraged the North to institute and wage the war now so boldly, relentlessly, and wantonly prosecuted against Southern rights, interests and feelings. The union of the South will prove the shield and buckler of the South—her strong tower and her impregnable wall of defence. We doubt whether it will even be necessary for the proposed convention to meet—it will be enough that the South should prove herself in *earnest* in this matter. Let every Southern State but respond, and that immediately and warmly, to the Mississippi proposition—let the united South show her fixed determination to meet in Convention *at Nashville, Tennessee*, as proposed by Mississippi, *on the first Monday in June next*; and we confidently anticipate that the mere exhibition of such determination, in the practical and decisive mode of appointing delegates to attend the proposed Convention, will supersede the necessity of its actual assemblage, by the immediate removal of *the cause*. But should this be a too flattering unction laid on our soul, why even let the Convention meet, and speak in a voice at once temperate and yet firm, of brotherly love and yet of stern solemnity, the united resolve of the South no longer to submit to aggression, outrage and insult, but, on the contrary, to uphold her institutions, her rights, and her sacred honor, "peaceably if she can, forcibly if she must"

We repeat, then, that we rejoice that the incipient step towards this momentous measure—has been taken by Mississippi—it can no longer be ridiculed or sneered at as a South Carolina project—but South Carolina will, we doubt not, yield it a warm and unanimous support—and we trust, too, that every other Southern and slaveholding State will come promptly and gallantly into the glorious phalanx—the phalanx of equal justice and constitutional right. Let us neither talk nor think of nullification or separate State action—but act with the South and for the South, as "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh"

We have every reason to believe that young and powerful Alabama, and yet younger but equally spirited Florida, will be no laggards on this high occasion—that fertile Louisiana and the distant Texas will range themselves under the constitutional banner—that Arkansas and Missouri will come on to the rescue from the recesses of the far West—that old Virginia will don her armor at the first blast of the trumpet, and do battle in the rightful and righteous cause—that Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee, will stand shoulder to shoulder with their Southern compeers—that old Kentucky, even at the sacrifice, if not under the lead, of her great commoner and illustrious son, will strike for the constitutional equality of coëqual sovereignties, and that even Maryland and Delaware, however far they may have strayed from the common fold, will yet make common cause with us, choosing our people for their people, and our God for their God.

We would earnestly press this matter on the minds and *the hearts* of our people, and invoke our worthy, spirited, and patriotic Governer to make the proposed Convention a subject of special recommendation in his annual message to our State Legislature.

On this question we hope that all differences will be forgotten and buried—that we shall know neither *Whigs* nor *Democrats*, but *Southrons* only—and that, in the language of our great Southern statesman—yet, we trust, to wear the Executive honors of our great, glorious, and perpetual Union—we shall hold every Southern man, (and in this category we design to include also every man identified with the South in interest, in principle, or in feeling) nearer than any Northern Whig or Northern Democrat. Let us but do this—and the South will be safe, the Union will be safe, and our great and united country will continue to move on, with giant strides, to the consummation of its glorious, its mighty, its continental destiny.

THE ENEMIES OF THE AMERICAN UNION AT WORK IN OUR MIDST—WATCH THEM CLOSELY.

We have frequently spoken of the destructive and ruinous designs of the free dirters or modern Abolitionists. The leaders and head men of this party are the old Abolitionists—their purposes have not changed. And it becomes necessary for the people to watch them closely. They first started out as the Abolition party, then changed their names to that of the "Liberty party," then the "Free Soil," then "Free Democracy," and at every defeat they change their name in hopes of being able to delude the people and obtain power. Their party is almost entirely composed of disaffected and mutinous men, of those who have held office as long as they can in the old parties, or have often been candidates, without being successful, of those who have everything to expect and nothing to loose by a change, of one idea abstractionists, visionary, crack-brained, and fickle time-serving creatures, of the outs and ends of everything. The controling spirits—the head and front of the faction are the old Abolitionists—and the whole aim of these men is to array man against his fellow—brother against brother—father against son—neighbor against neighbor—State against State—one section of the Union against the other—all, all with the hope and expectation of being able to effect the dissolution of the Union—a civil revolution. These traitors are busy plotting treason, constantly seeking to create dissentions in society, divisions in parties, schisms in churches. We have an instance in point in our own place—the attempted dismemberment of the Old School Presbyterian Church by a few political harranguers of the modern abolition Free Dirt party. We refer the people who love the "Union," and would maintain it, to the course of the speakers and editors of that faction, to their denunciation and abuse of all who differ with them in opinion, to the efforts to prescribe their brethren of the Southern States, to the intolerance of Northern Churchmen of the one idea class, and their determination to put down all who disagree with them and to excommunicate slaveholders.

We have been led to these remarks by seeing the "Progress of abolitionism" and its end and aim as set forth by "*The Concord Free Press*," which after applauding Mr. Nevin's secession from the Presbyterian Church, says:

"And now if he is an honest man, he will go on to reform, and will not pause until he will see that every civil organization which "has not Christ and humanity" must be scattered to fragments, and that it is the duty of the faithful to *come out* of all such as speedily as they would come from a pro-Slavery church. This Government is at war with Christ and humanity, and without speedy reformation must crumble to atoms."

We have much to fear from this nefarious faction. Let all the churches in the land be divided in the way sought, let all political parties and all societies be split up and divided as between the North and South, and all fellowship and communion between the Northern and Southern men with one another be dissolved and these incendiary spirits will in part have accomplished their object.—Friends of the Union—lovers of your country, watch closely the movements of such mutinous spirits. Heed well the advice of the Father of his country, and "frown indignantly upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."—*Mount Vernon True Whig.*

THE UNION OF DISUNIONISTS.

The Abolitionists of the North, and the disunionists of the South, are upon the eve of forming a conlition. Calhoun and Garrison, now constitute the firm. What position, Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, and other worthies, are to occupy in this great undertaking, we know not. Mr. Calhoun once in his place, did say, that the party then in power were held together, by the attraction of cohesion, i. e., to say, the cohesion of public plunder. We know not now what may be the opinions of Mr. Calhoun, nor are we disposed to define them, but leave that to his friends (if any definition they can give.) But we do know something of the opinions of Mr. Wendell Phillips, and his co-adjutors. Mr. Phillips, in conjunction with Mrs. Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Abby Folsom, and one Mr. Frederick Douglass, (a free negro.) one Mr. William Brown, (a runaway negro from Missouri.) and divers others of that ilk. lately held a meeting, in which it was declared before the assembly, by the aforesaid Wendell Phillips, that the Constitution of the United States, should be trampled under foot—should be wholly disregarded—nay! moreover, that it was the greatest outrage upon human rights and human privileges, that had ever been perpetrated.

Mr. Phillips said, moreover, that he wished to see it done, and he would glory in crushing the Constitution of the United States. He said it was a fraud upon human rights. This was not all that Mr. Phillips said; he said the Church of Christ was a fraud. He and his associates upon that occasion, openly and avowedly made war upon the Church, religion, morality, and everything else, which did not have a tendency to produce the results, so much desired by them. What that result is, we will leave our readers to consider,—but when we see Mr. Frederick Douglass, (a free negro,) walking arm in arm, with Mrs. Lucretia Mott, or Mrs. Abby Folsom, down the streets of Broadway, or when it can be seen that Mr. Wendell Phillips, the great Lawyer of Boston, for the purpose of eulogizing, or making practical, that portion of the Declaration of Independence, which says that "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, &c."—parading Boston common, with one of those negro wenches, of whom he so proudly boasts that he has stolen from Virginia, then the result can be known by any ordinary observer.

And are these the men with whom the great champion of the South, is willing to unite?

Cannot the people of Kentucky stand aloof, maintain her integrity, her loyalty to the Union, and her glorious name, in citing her sons to press forward to their high destiny, without uniting with the one or the other? Shall we, who have ever been foremost in the battle field, to sustain the pride, and glory of our inestimable Union, now prove recreant, because, forsooth, a few disorganizing spirits, either of the North or the South, cannot accomplish their fell purposes? No. Kentucky will stand by the Union—she will stand by the South;—Ah! yes, she will stand by herself, and the West, and more than all, and not less than all, "to her own self she'll be true."

Kentucky knows that she is the great battle-ground,—and we would advise our friends, both North and South, that she intends not to be driven from her position. Nullification in the South, associated with disunion,—Abolition in the North, connected with dissolution, cannot move her from her position.

It is true, this is the age of fanaticism. Men upon both sides, seem to be the devotees of ultraism. But 'truth is omnipotent,' we can retain our slaves without doing violence to our conscience;—we can appreciate the feelings of those who are conscientiously opposed to Slavery. Our country is large. Its dimensions are great. There is a North, a South, an East, and a West; and whilst we, of the West, wish not to interfere with the manufactures of the North, or the planters of the South, will not the North and South let us alone? One portion says to us, "Open your doors, let in the vile slaves—the rogues, the rascals, the burglars, &c. You want negroes for your tobacco growing country, and you will become more prosperous.' The other portion says, 'Set your negroes free; you shall have free laborers who will work for you cheaper than slaves.'

It would be needless for us to tell all the 'honied promises' that are made, and none of which will ever be realized. We have one, and only one question to ask of the Emancipationists: If free labor be cheaper, and it be better for the land-holder and slaveholder to be bettered by it, how then can the non-slaveholder, and day laborer, be bettered by it?

We have other questiens to ask of these gentlemen, but inasmuch as they have never answered this one, although frequently propounded, we had not intended to ask any more. The election, however, is approaching, and in another article, we will propound to them some questions, they might have a desire to answer.—*Garrard* (*Ky.*) *Banner.*

WILL THE SOUTH SUBMIT?

The above question involves a matter of grave import for the South. That there are some among us, politicians, who, for the sake of the spoils of office, will submit to any wrong however gross, any indignity however flagrant, even that of personal chastisement at the hands of the North, rather than resist, we believe to be lamentably true. Of this class do we consider that arch-fiend and monstrous traitor Benton, of Missouri, and his little satellites, Rusk and Houston of Texas, the valiant Stanley of North Carolina, with probably King, Cobb, and "Little Bilious," of Georgia. But to suppose the people, the unpurchased and incorruptible people will submit, is to suppose them lost to all sense of shame, to every principle of honor, to all regard for their rights and safety, as well as the safety of their wives and children. We are well convinced that the seeming apathy and indifference of some portions of the South, has arisen from the blindness of the people to the real importance of the questions involved, caused by the deceptions practised upon them by politicians and party presses, for party purposes. We are rejoiced, however, to be able to chronicle the fact, that a mighty change has taken place in the prospects of the South. The scales have fallen from the eyes of the people—light has at last broken in upon them, and from the Potomac to the Mississippi, from the shores of the Atlantic to the dark and bloody ground of old Kentucky, is wafted to our senses the welcome intelligence—the grateful notes of preparation for the approaching danger. Virginia, whose noble old bosom has never been a nursery for traitors or cowards, has cast out, repudiated and trampled under foot her faithless representatives, and is girding her loins for the conflict. North Carolina, too, the quondam Rip Van Winkle of the South, is awaking from her long slumber, and shaking her invincible locks—the memories of revolutionary Mecklenburg forbid her sons to be untrue, to their destiny and their duty in the approaching crisis. Our own State, too, thoroughly aroused, with beaver up, awaits with impatience the cry "to your tents, oh Israel!" Georgia, too, always ready to "beard the lion in his den, the Douglass in his hall," though paralized by the spirit of party for a while, and betrayed by her faithless sentinels, is now rapidly wheeling into line. Florida, Alabama and Mississippi, our younger but not less gallant sisters, led on by a Yulee, a King, a Fitzpatrick, a Gayle, a Foote, a Davis, are all burnishing their armor, double shooting their guns, and preparing to meet the enemies of our rights and our institutions upon the very threshold—like young lions truly do they chafe for the conflict. Kentucky and Tennessee, our noble western sisters, by repudiating the treachery of many of their faverite and long cherished sons, have furnished unmistakable evidence, that they are still true as steel to the constitution of their fathers, and are prepared to resist at any and every hazard, any infraction of its provisions—peaçably if they can, forcibly if they must. As equals, each and every one entered the Confederacy; and as equals, only, they will remain. In fact, through the length and breadth of the whole South, but one voice will soon be heard, like the hoarse roar of the tempest, drowning everything else, and proclaiming to our enemies we are ready, aye, ready.

Fear and tremble, then ye faithless politicians and political hucksters the handwriting is even now visible upon the wall, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*—thy power has been taken from thee and confided to more worthy hands. Ye have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. And ye *traitors* Benton, Rusk, and Houston, ye who would sell your country for a price, who would barter her birthright for a mess of pottage, go quickly, save the infamy of a public execution, and like Judas Iscariot, hang yourselves.

To the North we say likewise, fear and tremble ye poor pitiful tyrants, ye have at last provoked a spirit which will not be allayed—which will not crouch—which will not down at your bidding. Long, long has the South borne with your wrong, your injustice, your oppression, but the day of her redemption and the downfall of your insolence and power is close at hand. For thirty-five years have you plundered us; for thirty-five years have you robbed us under the forms of the Constitution; for thirty-five years have you heaped unprovoked insult and injury upon our heads. With the sweat of our brows and the toil of our bodies, have you built up your villages, towns and cities; with this have you built up your schools, colleges and temples of science; with this have you converted your barren and inhospitable wastes, into fruitful gardens and pleasant places. We repeat, all this have you done from the plunder of the South. Not content with this, you would now if you could, like the serpent sting the bosom that warmed you into life—you would deprive us of our property, destroy our institutions, and convert the sunny South once "a land flowing with milk and honey," into a barren waste, an howling wilderness. But lay not the flattering unction to your souls that you will ever be able to accomplish this. Never, never, never. You may dissolve this Union in the madness of your fanaticism—you may Aerostatus like destroy the fairest political fabric, ever reared by the wisdom and patriotism of civilized man, but the destruction of the Constitution by your hands, is an event beyond your power, power or spirit to accomplish. We have an energy, a spirit, a power, an abiding source of strength to which you are wilfully blind, which enables us to bid defiance to a world in arms. It was this which enabled us in the Revolution to fight your battles for you—it was this which enabled us in the war of 1812, while your prominent sons were plotting treason at Hartford, to drive back the enemy from your shores, preserve your cities and towns from plunder, and save your wives and daughters from violence—it was this which enabled us to send two-thirds of the invading army into Mexico, and offer up the blood of such spirits as Ringold, Butler, Clay, Dickinson, Walker, and a host of others, as a libation upon the altar of our common country. And it is this which will enable us, should you ever be guilty of the folly of the attempt at invasion, to drive back your hordes, countless though they may be as the sands upon the sea shore. Your boast that Northern countries have ever over-run Southern, that your rivers all run South, indicating dominion to the North, will not avail you. Rather look upon the latter as highways, which Providence has provided to tempt and lead you to destruction, and avoid them while it is yet in your power. *Facilis decensus, sed retire, hic opus hic labor est.* Pause and ponder well before you take a step so fatal to yourself, your honor, your prosperity and political power. Pause and ponder we repeat.—*Fairfield* (*S. C.*) *Herald.*

From the Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH SELF-DEFENCE—FREE NEGROES.

"Let an Abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina; if we can catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interferences of all the Governments on earth, including the Federal Government, we will hang him." This is the language used by Mr. Preston, in the United States Senate, nearly eleven years ago. This was the tone of a distinguished Southern Senator, when the demon of Abolition had shown his hideous front, only in the far distance. Mr Preston was from the "Chivalry" State, whose sons have ever been somewhat hot in blood, and cholerie of temper. Such a declaration was, perhaps, at that period (1838) somewhat premature, but would it be so now? Then the "spectre was small," though "the shadow he cast before him was large enough to darken all this fair land," even at that day. But now the danger is brought home to us, it is at our doors, it is in our midst. The Democratics of the North of every name and creed, Whigs and Democrats, Hunkers, Barnburners, Free Soilers and all are united against the South, and making open and vigorous war upon our rights and property. The time is near, if not now even at hand, when we must stand our ground and defend our rights.—The question at issue, and the struggle impending, are of such tremendous magnitude, of such vital importance as to overshadow all minor considerations. The result involves the political existence of the South, and the lives of her citizens. We dislike to draw sectional distinctions, and to speak of the separate interests of the North and the South, but the matter is forced upon us, and we cannot avoid it.—The Abolition fanaticism has grown and increased, until it has resulted in the free-soil mania.

A large, united, and powerful army now exists, whose aim and object is the overthrow of the slave institutions of the South, at any price and all hazards. We are sorry to see it, but the free-soil party, and its proceedings force the conviction upon us that soon all party distinctions and designations must disappear in the two great parties of the North and the South. A long course of aggression on the part of the North, and a continued and systematic effort to injure the South have given us a foretaste of what we are to look for.

We may be in error as to the time, but it is certainly manifest that, if not to-day, still very soon the South must stand for her liberty and her life. We do not think with the "chivalry" that it is time for "guns and swords and bayonets, war and bloodshed," but we do think that it is time, high time, to adopt all and every possible precaution. Hanging an Abolitionist now and then, will not in our opinion, do much good, for very few of these zealous fools will risk their precious persons amongst us; and the few who would come upon this mission, amongst us, would not have sufficient brains to do much mischief, even if their throtles escaped the gentle ministrations of Jack Ketch. Our first effort should be to dismiss from amongst us those who are calculated by conduct, example, or situation, to excite dissatifaction amongst our slave population. And first we should free our borders, and purge our whole limits of free negroes. This may be a harsh course to some of them, who behave well, but it is necessary to our safety.

If the Slave States will unite for self defence, and mutual protection and expel every free negro from their borders, one great element of danger will be removed and a growing evil remedied. Another great benefit would inure to the South. Expelled from our territory, the free negroes would be poured into one flood into the Free States. They would be sent *en masse* into the arms of their dear friends and brothers the Abolitionists, who after one visitation of this tide of pauperism, idleness, wretchedness and vice, would cry anxiously for an "extension of the area" of slave territory. Let them but once feel to its full extent the frightful evils resulting from carrying out even a part of their villainous projects, and they would be glad to let us and our slaves alone. While the mischievous consequences of their conduct are visited upon the South alone, while its evils come not nigh them, the Abolitionists will persevere in their nefarious efforts. But let the South act unitedly in this matter; let them make a present of the free negroes to the North; let them pour two or three hundred thousand free negroes into free soil States (for they *must* receive them, these ardent philanthropists!) let this mass of ignorance, superstition, pauperism and vice be turned into their cities, towns, villages and hamlets; let the Abolitionists feed to the full of the fruits of their own culture, and one lesson would suffice to bury Abolitionism "deeper than plumet ever sounded." One taste of the bitter fruit of their own raising would teach the whole horde of fanatics a lesson which would make them glad, for the future, to mind their own business, and let the South alone.

Selections.

KENTUCKY STATE CONVENTION.

Debate on Slavery.

[CONTINUED.]

Mr. Dixon offered the following:

Whereas, The right of the citizen to be secure in his person and property is not only guarantied by all free Governments, but lies at the very foundation of them; and whereas, the powers derived to this Convention immediately and collectively are directly from the people, and although not expressed are implied, and among these is the power so to change the existing Constitution of the State so as to afford a more ample protection to the civil and religious rights of the citizen, but not to destroy them; and whereas, the slaves of the citizens of this commonwealth are property, both those that are now *in esse* and those hereafter born of mothers who may be slaves at the time of such birth. Therefore,

Resolved, That the Convention has not the power or right, by any principle it may incorporate into the Constitution of the State, to deprive the citizen of his property without his consent, unless it be for the public good, and only then by making to him a just compensation therefor.

Mr. Dixon advocated this resolution in a few remarks.

Mr. Hardin. I understand the resolution to be nothing more nor less than this, that the Convention has not the power, under any state of things, to emancipate the slaves. For one, I maintain that they have this power.

Mr. Dixon. The gentleman will see that he is mistaken, if he will examine the resolution. It asserts this principle, that it is in the power of this Convention, to take the property of the citizen, when the public good requires it, but that it must be paid for.

Mr. Hardin. The real meaning is that we have not now the power to emancipate the slaves that we have now in existence, nor to emancipate them in prospective. We have that power if we pay the owner for his property. I agree with the gentleman from Henderson, that it should not be done. I will not consent to do it; but we have the power to do it. We have the power to do anything that a nation can do unless forbid by the Constitution of the United States and the laws in Congress made in pursuance of it, and treaties made by the United States in pursuance of the treaty-making power. There is no restraint upon us except so far as regards these, and if it were not for the Constitution of the United States, we might declare any gentleman of this Convention king or emperor to-morrow, and he would be king or emperor until the people saw fit to dethrone him, which I suppose they would do very quickly. Well, can we not set the negroes free if we choose? I should think so, compensation or no compensation, those now in existence, or those hereafter to be born. But I deny the policy of doing so. I agree with the gentleman. I am against setting them free, but I do not want to pass a resolution declaring that we have not the power to do it. I hope the resolution will be deferred, and when we come to the time for action on the subject I would give all such resolutions a handsome go-bye, by laying them upon the table and refusing to act upon them. That is what I should call a handsome berth for them, and I hope it will be given to them. It is well to correct the views of all the gentlemen of this Convention in regard to this subject; but I do not think it would be expedient to take any action upon it.

While I am up I will only further remark, that we came here with a view of making three or four essential changes in our organic law. One is, to take the appointing power from the executive and give it to the people; and another is, to destroy the life tenure of office, because the holders of office for life, or during good behavior, are virtually under no responsibility whatever, the tenure of their office being in the nature of a life estate; for, as Jefferson well said, "they never resign, and scarcely ever die."—Another object is, to make the holders of office more immediately responsible to the people; and another object—one which I had particularly in view, though I don't know how it is with other gentlemen—was to prevent the State from contracting any more of those enormous debts which we have been in the habit of doing. And when we shall have done this, we shall have attained the great object for which we have assembled. I hope we shall do it in the best possible way. I recollect hearing an anecdote, thirty years ago, of a poor man going to buy a hundred acres of land from a land speculator, who declared that he had an excellent title, and produced, as the evidence of his title, a record against the unknown heirs of A., and a record against the unknown heirs of B., and was proceeding to produce other evidences of title of the same character, when the buyer said, "no doubt your title is a good one, but there is so much of it, I shall never be able to read it," and he declined making the purchase. Now I cannot agree with the gentleman that we ought to declare that we have not the power to make such disposition of this subject as we please. There is a wide difference between having the power, and considering it expedient to exercise it. We may incorporate, if we choose, the law of 1833 into the new Constitution, but and it shall not be done with my consent. I presume that there are not twenty delegates in this house who desire that it shall be done. We have ample power, but we are not going to exercise it. I hope that this Convention will give to this resolution the destination which my honorable friend proposes, and that we hear the sentiments of delegates upon the subjects embraced in it. But I want to adopt no negative declaration as to our power.

Mr. Preston. If I rightly understood the resolution, it does not bear the interpretation which the gentleman from Nelson put upon it. I was very glad to see the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Henderson. It embodies, in effect the same idea which is contained in a part of the report of the committee, and which will naturally come up for consideration in the report itself. I understand the resolution as asserting two principles. One is, the declaration that we came here under an implied understanding, that we would not violate the rights of persons or of property, and with the implied understanding between the people who elected the delegates to this Convention and those delegates, that the rights of property should remain undisturbed.

There is another principle asserted in the resolution, and it is, that this Convention has no power whatever to pass a *post natti* law, or any constitutional provision for freeing the children to be born hereafter, descendants of the slaves. I do not believe that this house is willing to accord to the proposition that the State of Kentucky has the right to exercise such a power. I do not believe myself that we are in a state of revolution. I do not believe myself that full and plenary power is possessed by this house. I do not believe that we came here with all the powers of sovereignty. I do not believe, that if this house consisted of one hundred and fifty delegates instead of one hundred, we could come here as a legally constituted Convention. I believe we were called here in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, which provides for its amendment, which stipulates that it should be done in a certain manner, and that when we do come together for that purpose, we are not in a state of revolution, not at liberty to carry power to the extreme limit which the gentleman from Nelson seems to think; but that we do come here for the purpose of carrying out the views of the people, under the implied obligation which is set forth in the resolution of the gentleman from Henderson.

There was no principle more strongly argued than the one which asserted that there should be a provision inserted in the constitution which we are about to form, which would provide for the future emancipation of the slaves. They declared that we should insert in the constitution, either a provision that would permit the emancipation of the slaves now, or a provision for their gradual emancipation. I do not know whether any gentleman in this convention entertains such an opinion. I understand there are one or two who do; but I know that twelve or fifteen thousand votes were cast in the State, asserting that they believed in the existence of the right to do so. There are as many as fifteen thousand persons in the State then, who do not think that such a provision will be altogether useless, and who would consequently be opposed to inserting in the constitution a provision declaring that the slaves should not be manumitted, without a compensation being paid to their owners. I recollect reading with a great deal of interest the speech of a distinguished gentleman of this State, Judge Underwood, regarding the emancipation of slaves, in which he advanced the opinion that we should insert such a feature. But he afterwards receded somewhat from that position. We know, however, this fact, that some twelve or fifteen thousand of the people of this State believe that such a feature should be inserted. I do not believe that it can be justly done. I agree with the gentleman from Nelson, and I belive that there is no man within the sound of my voice who will maintain that private property, other than slaves, can be taken without compensation; but we all know that there has been one continual clamor from the North asserting that slaves are not property. I have heard it asserted in Louisville that man could have no property in man. I have found an opinion prevailing throughout the country to a great extent to the same effect.—The whole mind of the country in fact is directed to this question. It may not be the case in this house, but a difference of opinion does prevail in the country, and the question should therefore be met; it should be considered and determined. What do they say? That slaves are not like other property, but that they are property *sui generis*. The State of New York passed Anti-Slavery laws, and I have yet to learn that she had no right to pass such laws, though she did it under no constitutional sanction.—Her example was followed by other States, and if we let this constitution go out without some such provision, may it not be subject to judical enquiry whether subsequent action of the legislature can control this property.

In the course of conversations with pro-slavery men, they declared that the present Constitution contained a guarantee for the continuance of Slavery in reference to existing slaves: but they seemed to yield the point that it would be just and proper, and no invasion of right if a provision were inserted for the emancipation of those who are not now *in esse*. As the matter was discussed, the matter began to assume a different aspect, the people began to regard the increase of slave property in the same light as the increase of real estate, and they began to be of opinion that the convention had no more right to declare that the offspring of slaves should be free, than they had to declare that the profits of real estate, or of stocks should not belong to the owners of such property. I know there are individuals who are averse to the discussion which the emancipationists have raised in Kentucky. I know it is a prevalent opinion that you can no more take away the future born children of slaves from their owners, than you can the existing slaves. But we are a transient body, we shall pass away, and if we adjourn without the expression of our opinions, all traces of the opinions we entertain will pass away with us. They will endure only so long as the minds which entertain them. I agree therefore with the gentleman from Henderson, that we should leave an imperishable record of the great truth, that the great barriers which are thrown around other property apply equally to our slaves: and the expression should go forth to the country, that it not only applies to slaves now in existence, but that it equally applies to those who shall be born of slaves hereafter. I see no inutility about it. On the contrary, I see great utility. I have heard other matters that are certainly not so pertinent, discussed with much ability in this house. I do not regard it as useless; I regard it as a cardinal hinge on which the decision of this question is to turn hereafter. There is no gentleman within the sound of my voice, but will recollect that when this point was pressed by the emancipationists it was the greatest difficulty presented.

I certainly have shown no disposition to trespass on the patience of the house. Among the youngest members in it, I shall never speak unless when I consider there is a great and important principle at issue. I have great respect for the opinions of the gentleman from Nelson, but I have perceived within the last week, that there have been questions discussed, that are of less importance than this. it will naturally come up in the report of the committee on Slavery, a report to which I have many objections. That report provides that the free negros, who are at present within the State, are to be torn from their homes and sent away, as I believe against law and right. By adopting this, we adopt a provision that involves in it inhumanity; one which involves a position that every one who advocated the pro-slavery cause found the strongest he could use, for I maintain that there is no argument that the people listen to with more sympathy than the declaration that by the contemplated scheme of emancipation, if they carry it out, a hundred thousand human beings would be torn form their homes and landed upon a distant and inhospitable shore. If there was one argument which pressed harder than another, against the emancipation party, it was this. I myself feel a deep and vivid interest in it. I believe the principle is a cardinal one, and I believe it should be distinctly understood and declared by this house, that private property shall not be taken, without full compensation being made to the owner. I think we ought to assert the principle distinctly, and that we should declare that it extends to slaves and not only to the slaves who are now *in esse*, but to the descendants of those slaves. That is the principle, as I understand it, for which the gentleman from Henderson contends. So far as power to act upon the subject is concerned, I do not understand the resolution of the gentleman as doing more than conveying the idea, that there is an implied understanding that the right to private property shall not be violated, and that understanding becomes a motive so strong as to govern the exercise of power by this convention, that they will not violate that class of property, but they will provide for its future protection. If I understand the gentlemen aright I will support him in it.

Mr. Dixon. The gentleman certainly understands my position, at least in part. I assert two propositions: first, that according to the original contract between the members of society, the whole have a right to govern the individual members of the society; but they have a right to do it on this condition, that they do not violate the rights of individual members of the society. That is one proposition which I assert. The next proposition is this: that the powers of this convention; a body which is the representative of that society, and whose powers are derived from that society, are limited by the implied understanding existing betwixt the members of that society, which constituted this body, to the extent that this body would not violate the original understanding betwixt the members of that society and the community composed thereof. It was that the whole might govern the individual members, but with the express understanding that they should not deprive the individual members of those rights to which they were entitled. Therefore the resolution goes to the extent that the power does not exist in this convention, because whatever powers it possesses, the resolution insists upon it, are derivative, and that we ought not to transcend those powers. The powers possessed by this convention therefore, do not go to the extent of violating that principle, and if we assert it here by any act of ours, it will be in violation of what I believe to be the original contract between the people and their representatives. That is the proposition, that it is not in the power of the convention to take away private property without compensation being made therefor; that slaves are private property, and that the rule applies as well to them as to any other property, and applies as well to future born slaves, as to slaves at present in existence.

Mr. Preston. I understand the main part of the gentleman's resolution. Its practical bearing as I conceive is, to have an expression of this convention that they will not, in the constitution which we are about to form violate either the right of property in slaves, as it now exists, or the right of property in those hereafter to be born.

The reason why I rose to make any remark, is that I hope the resolution will come up for consideration at the time the gentleman from Madison says, is willing to accord to this proposition, let them do it now, and the object will have been achieved. And if any gentleman entertain different sentiments, I would like to give them an opportunity to be heard, the last perhaps, that they will have for many years to come. I hove therefore, the resolution will be allowed to make the direction indicated by the gentleman.

Mr. Turner. I withdraw my objection.

On the following day,

Mr. Dixon amended his resolution by striking out the words "power or" before the word "right."—So that it will read as follows:

Resolved, That this convention has not the right, by any principle it may incorporate into the constitution of the State, to deprive the citizen of his pro-

perty without his consent, unless it be for the public good, and only then by making to him a just compensation therefor.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1849.

Mass Convention at Syracuse.

It has been determined that a CONVENTION *of the* ABOLITIONISTS *of the* STATE *of* NEW YORK *shall be held at*

Syracuse,

on TUESDAY the 15th of JANUARY, 1850.

The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery; the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, hold to those parties; and the relation which Abolitionists now sustain to each other and the cause demand that such a Convention be held in this State; that it be held during the ensuing session of Congress; and that it shall represent the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, not only to the extension of Slavery into new Territories, but to its existence anywhere: who are determined not only to resist its establishment on the Coast of the Pacific, or in the valleys of New Mexico, but are equally determined on its extermination on the Atlantic Coast and in the valley of the Mississippi.

The events of the past year; the events of the passing week; the events, probably, which will signalize the present winter, appeal to all who assume to themselves the name of Abolitionists, to unite, at once, to the work of making this the largest and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in this State. The warning cry of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and has never been so heeded as it will be in the present crisis.

Particulars of time, place, and probable continuance of the Convention, and names of the distinguished friends of the cause who will be present, will be given in future notices.

California.

CONTRARY to the well-founded apprehensions of a large majority of the opponents of Slavery, California has adopted a Constitution excluding the curse of human bondage from her borders. If we may believe the Whig newspapers, the Abolitionists are disappointed at this result. Since the election of General Taylor, it has been discovered that these unhappy Ishmaelites make a trade of Anti-Slavery, a reproach which comes somewhat ungracefully from those (at least) who professed a willingness to join the Free Soil party if it were only sure of success. It is a reproach, moreover, which we who live in Mr. Palfrey's district find it hard to comprehend. We cannot conceive how any trader should be able to make his political fortune out of an Abolition venture, unless by some such happy contingency as enabled Lord Timothy Dexter to enrich himself by sending warming-pans to the West Indies.

Abolitionists are not so unanimous that it is safe to speak for more than one of them at a time. We know one, certainly who is sincerely thankful for the result of the Convention in California, hampered as the Slavery restriction is with a spirit of foolish and inhuman exclusiveness toward the African race But the experience of an Abolitionist is not such as to render him childishly confiding. In America the poet's saw is reversed, and it is Slavery's battle which,

"Though seeming lost, is ever won."

From year to year we grow more nervously suspicious of Trojan horses and are especially fearful when either of the great political parties offers us anything in the way of gift. With regard to California the Whigs occupy very much the same position which Caleb Balderstone did to Mr. Girder and his advancement as Queen's cooper. Though he had no concern in it whatever, he was very willing to claim the merit of the appointment after it was made. We are as ignorant as a "Washington Correspondent" of the object of Mr Butler King's mission, but he was certainly an odd person to select as an *anti*-Slavery propagandist. There is no want of charity in supposing that General Taylor will, at least, be *lenient* toward Southern institutions, and accordingly we already hear rumors that California is to be divided into four States, two North and two South of the Missouri Compromise line. Ominously enough the name of Mr. Clay is mentioned in connection with this movement—of Mr. Clay, therepresentative American man on the subject of Slavery. Abolitionists must be upon the watch. They should not regard the exclusion of Slavery even from the whole of California as an anti-Slavery triumph. It is no such thing, but merely Freedom holding her own. The game of Mr. Calhoun and the advocates of Slavery has always been to demand a great deal more than they cared about getting. This worked well in two ways. They gained the credit of conceding all above the point they were really anxious to attain, and, at the same time, northern Doughfaces could make their peace with their constituents by assuming to have gained all that they had merely not basely surrendered. Beyond a doubt this will be Mr. Calhoun's course in regard to California. He will resist the admission of that territory as a free State to the last moment, and at last consent to divide it equally between Freedom and Slavery, playing Mr. Clay, the Apostle of Compromise, as the last trump card. Mr. Calhoun is a cunning jockey. He asks twice as much for his horse as he means to take, and finally persuades his unlucky victim (who does not want the animal at all) to buy it for twice its worth, because it is such a bargain. But these horses of his are like those of Diomed, foddered with human flesh, and the North has bought too many of them already.

On the other hand it is possible that it is not the half of California, but the whole of New Mexico, which Mr. Calhoun intends to struggle for. And, if this be the case, we confess that we have little hope of seeing him defeated. Nothing is to be expected of the Democratic party, who have lost office and are willing to regain it at any expense of their cardinal principles; nothing from the Whigs whose complexion could hardly be heightened by a blush for any new piece of treachery. When men have been treacherous, and the evidence has been found in their pockets, they hate more than anything else the cause which they have betrayed. It is really amusing to see the Whigs forced to capture and spike their own Anti-Slavery batteries which they erected against the Democrats. Affirming that their President and his Cabinet are anti-Slavery, they use their utmost endeavor to keep out of Congress every anti Slavery Whig. We can only compliment their honesty at the expense of their intelligence. If the aim of President Taylor's administration be to keep Slavery out of the territories, and the Democrats in Congress are not to be relied on, why make a point of sacrificing every member who would add one to the chances of attaining an end so ardently desired by the administration? We commend to the serious reflection of the Whig Party the following stanza from Coleridge's "Devil's Walk."

"Down the river did glide, with wind and with tide,
A pig with vast celerity;
And the Devil looked wise as he saw how, the while,
It cut its own throat: 'There!' quoth he, with a smile,
'Goes England's commercial prosperity.'"

It seems to us that there is a pretty analogy here with the political prosperity of the Whigs, only that in their case, the satire is heightened by the poor creature's cutting its throat in an attempt to swim *up* Salt River instead of down.

It is fortunate for the cause of Right and Freedom that the Whigs have not succeeded against Giddings as they have (hitherto) against Palfrey. It is well that there should be one watchful eye in Congress to detect, and one fearless tongue to expose any trick which the party at present dominant may attempt to play upon the nation. The more fully the hollowness and duplicity of either of the great parties is exposed, the better.—The Whigs might have defeated the annexation of Texas as a Slave State, if they had thrown themselves boldly upon the anti-Slavery side of the question. But, having made a Constitutional point of it, and that having been decided against them, Texas will afford a precedent and apology for New Mexico and Santa Fé. Let Abolitionists, meanwhile, continue to sow the seed of abhorence of Slavery, as a moral and not a political question, and they may be certain that, like the Scotch gardener's trees, it will be growing while they are sleeping.—J. R. L.

MISS BREMER.—As everybody knows this great novelist is now on a visit to this country, and has been, since her arrival, an honored guest in several families in and near this city. It was announced a few days since in the *Tribune* that she was staying with Miss Anna Lynch, and that the literary world would pay their respects to her there "at least in paste-board."

A friend of ours belonging to the fraternity—or sisterhood rather in this case—not being able to call upon Miss Bremer, sent her card, with the following stanzas. As it happened, however, the *Tribune* was mistaken; the distinguished stranger was not at Miss Lynch's, and our friend does us the honor to give through our columns the welcome which probably never reached her for whom it was intended.

TO FREDERICKA BREMER.

"In pasteboard?" Yes, if we may urge no claim
To dearer commune than by pencilled name:
No word of welcome to the sister-heart
Which of our own has long held inner part.
The word is idle with no deep-born thought:
The word is futile, though from soul-depths sought,
To speak the welcome we would tender thee!
Take then the name—all worthless though it be.

THE CENSUS—COLORED PEOPLE.—A Washington Correspondent of the *Tribune* says the Hon. Mr. Clingman, a member of Congress from North Carolina, has made a suggestion to the Board, which has the taking of the Census in charge, in relation to that large class of our population, known in the West Indies as "Colored" but which here is called by the general but rather indefinite term 'Mulatto.' From Mr. Clingman's communication the *Tribune's* letter gives these extracts:

I desire to call your attention to the importance of obtaining fuller and more accurate information than has hitherto been elicited with reference to that portion of our population which is a mixture between the pure white and black races. I would therefore suggest to you the propriety of ascertaining not only the number of all such persons, whether free or slaves, but of presenting further inquiries. For example, let there be an inquiry as to the parents of such mulatto or mixed-blooded person. If they are ascertained to be white and black, there would be need of no farther questions; but should the parents, or either of them, be of mixed blood, then direct an inquiry as to the grand parents, and so on, until, if practicable in every case, the pedigree should be traced to the individual white and black races. I would also recommend that in all cases of adult females of mixed blood the number of children, if any, be stated. By adopting this mode of examination, we shall not only ascertain the number of persons of this description in the United States, but we would also be able to determine the length of their lives and their powers of reproduction, as compared with those of the pure races.

* * * * * *

We might also determine whether, from their numbers, they constitute such a per centage of our population as to lead in any given period to the destruction of the less numerous or black race. We should likewise be able to decide whether the mixture thus produced would be a permanent addition of an inferior grade to our population, or whether it would be totally extinguished for want of innate powers of reproduction, or by running in some instances into one of the original types, so as to exhibit no traces of the other.

What particular motive Mr. Clingman may have in suggesting these enquiries, we know not, but we will venture to say that it is no good one. A new theory has been lately started by some scientific men, that the colored races, like mules, are incapable beyond a certain point, of increase, and it is to to this doubtless Mr. Clingman refers. Modern science usually professes to find the facts first, and the theory afterward, but the intention here is, having got the theory, to look up the facts, and perhaps, if they be not forth-coming, to make some others answer their purpose. The conclusion, of course, will follow, that a mixed race ending in one or two generations without progeny, the ancestors on one side, at least, ought to be held as slaves. But there will come up, after all, the question, which side? which will leave the matter as far as ever from being settled.

We hope, however, Mr. Clingman's suggestions will be attended to. Anti-Slavery, we are confident would make something out of the answers to such questions, if they are reported with ordinary honesty, whether pro-Slavery does or not.

THE BAZAARS.—In reply to our question last week touching the assertion of the *North Star* that the Edinburg A. S. Society had been applied to by the Philadelphia Fair for assistance, the *Pennsylvania Freeman* says:

Will the *North Star* please to correct this mistake? The Managers of the Philadelphia Fair have not applied for aid, either to the Edinburg Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, or any other Society in Great Britain. They did make a general request for aid, to such of our English friends as might be inclined to assist them, and their appeal was successful; but they had no wish or intention to draw to their Fair any portion of the contributions which have before been sent to Boston. We believe that the English friends who have been active in procuring contributions for them, have never worked for the Boston Fair. The Philadelphia friends thought that a little effort might elicit more aid from England, for our Fairs, than has usually been given to them, and we trust that the results of the Boston and Philadelphia Fairs will prove that they were not mistaken.

We thank the *S dard* for directing our attention to this matter.

☞ GOV. CHAPMAN of Alabama, in his annual message, after treating of the Wilmot Proviso and its probable consequences to the South, closes the subject with this exhortation to his fellow-citizens. The Southern Bob Acres, are letting the courage ooze out of their fingers' ends, instead of making the gunpowder run out at the heels of their boots. 'Consult!' they have been ready to act anytime these forty years:

I have now presented to you the vital question, I hope, clearly and explicitly. There remains but the farther duty of recommending to you such action as those wanton violations of our rights demand. They may be arrested, if promptly met; but, if endured, there is no eye can penetrate the dark future that is before us, no tongue can describe the degraded condition to which we shall be reduced—serfs where we were equals, and equals only with our serfs. If I know the people of Alabama, they are prepared to resist such a consummation. There is no division of sentiment amongst them, and dangerous would be the spirit which, for party purposes, would represent the people composing one party as less sensitive to such wrongs, and less disposed to redress them, than those of the other. We are one on this subject—one in interest, one in feeling, and one in the determination to resist. Let us show this by our action. Let us make it known, that there is a price too dear to be paid even for the Union; and we will be safe and the Union still preserved. But to whatever result the present contest between the two sections of the Union may lead, the people of the South can never forget the stern devotion to principle and to the sacred obligations of the Constitution displayed by those firm spirits at the north, who, at the sacrifice of temporary political position, have sustained the right of the South according to the plighted faith of their fathers in the solemn compact of Union.

I recommend that provision be made by the Legislature at once, for the calling of a Convention of the people of the State, immediately upon the passage of the Wilmot Proviso in Congress, or any similar measure having a tendency to exclude Slavery from the Territories, or abolish it in the District of Columbia, or interfere with the removal of slaves from one State to another. I recommend also that provisions be made, that, in any such contingency, our sister States, similarly affected, be invited to unite with us in general convention to consult upon the state of the Union and the best means of preserving our common rights.

PEACE SOCIETY—MR. LIVERMORE'S DISSERTATION—Our readers may remember that some months ago the prize of $500, offered by the American Peace Society for the best dissertation on the Mexican war, was awarded to the Rev. A. A. Livermore, of Keene, N. H. We have been patiently waiting for the publication of the prize dissertation. In the meantime a resolution is offered in the Vermont Legislature, to accept for each member a copy of Mr. Jay's Treatise on the same subject, in behalf of the Peace Society as tendered by their Secretary, Mr. Beckwith. A correspondent asks, "What does this mean? What business has Mr. Beckwith, or the society thus to circulate a *political* work *not* adopted by the Society, when about publishing a work which they *have* adopted? Will not this proceeding be as prejudicial to the Society, as it is in fact injurious to Mr. Livermore? And why is not Mr. Livermore's book published? I wish a million copies of Jay could be circulated, but not by the Society." We presume that these questions can be answered by Mr. Beckwith.—*Christian Register.*

Mr. Beckwith thus called upon, we trust, will answer. That the Society should give $500 for an Essay which is not worth publishing, or that they should publish one which wise and impartial arbitrators have decided is not worth any of their money, is certainly a riddle worth redeing. We have heard one explanation however, which in default of any official statement may be repeated—to be corrected when shown to be erroneous.

The story goes that when the prize-Essays were read by the arbitrators that of Judge Jay's was decided to be, on the whole, the superior. There was, nevertheless a certain degree of straight-forward impartiality, and historical integrity about the work which these gentlemen either could not abide, or feared, by pronouncing it good, to sanction by their names. In writing the History of the Mexican War, Judge Jay, true to himself, gave up nothing to party, and treated with justice both Whig and Democrats. The arbitrators, it is said, wished him to expunge certain reflections upon the former, but this was a thing which had they known him better they would not have thought of asking. He declined, of course, and the prize went to Mr. Livermore. The "*political*" character of the work, to which the *Register's* correspondent alludes, and sneers at, consists in this—that it is *not* partizan; and that with many good people in Massachusetts is to be not respectable as well.

But the story goes still farther: The Committee of the Peace Society judged by a higher standard than the arbitrators, and deemed it to be no fault in Judge Jay's Essay that its aim was to tell the truth rather than to please the Whigs. So believing his work to be the best, they published it, as they had a perfect right to do, though they gave, as they were compelled to do in good faith, the prize according to the award. Mr. Livermore got the $500, but the world got a History of the Mexican War which puts *that* question in the right light for those who come after us.

Such is the tale as it was told to us, and we have no doubt that it is, in the main, true. It is alike honorable to Judge Jay and the Committee of the Peace Society.

Domestic Correspondence.

From Our Boston Correspondent.

NO. LI.

THE ARGUMENT.—*Posthumous honors to the Election.—The Truck and Dicker.—Where it failed and why.—Essex.—Pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.—Norfolk.—The wisdom of Foolishness.—The Eleven Thousand.—What became of them.—The Correspondent groweth Didactic.—He giveth good advice.—The latest Convention.—Chicken-fixings and Common Doings.—The Chicken Convention.—Its Unanimity.—Free Speech.—Its success.—Its superiority over Common Conventions.—Mr. Webster's geese.—The goose and the golden eggs.—Peace Meetings in Tremont Temple.—The Correspondent* THAR.—*Colonel Quincy in the Chair.—Commendable liberality towards fighting men.—Mr. Walker.—The Pilgrimage of Paris.—The Army of Martyrs.—Rev. Dr. Allen.—Fraternizaiton.—Brown's reception forgotten.—Natural but erroneous lapse of Memory.—Dr. William Allen.—What he said and left unsaid.—Mr. Clarke.—Mr. Burrell.—The Geometrical Ratio.—Sorrows of My Lord Plumb cake.—The Correspondent's Improvement.—Hugo, Coquerel and the Attack on Rome.—Curiosities of New Org.—The Duke of Committee and MM. Hugo and Girardin.—The Explanation of the whole matter.—&c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, November 22d, 1849.

IT is late in the day to be telling you of the Election, which has now been dead and buried these ten days. However, it may not be too late to write its epitaph. The "truck and dicker," as the Taylor papers profanely described the Coalition of the Free Soilers and Democrats, was not so successful a *trade* as had been hoped for by the factors who conducted it. Indeed, it was to a great extent *a sell*," as far as the Free Soilers were concerned. The obstinacy and the stupidity of some of the Democrats and of a good many of the Free Soilers prevented the success which they certainly might have commanded, had their Union been but tolerably perfect. There seems no reason why the two parties should not have elected the Senators for Essex and Norfolk at least, which would have given them a majority in the Senate and the Governor. In the former County it seems to have been prevented by the irrepressible thrist for knowledge of the leading Free Soilers which made them inquire too curiously into the lives and opinions of the Democratic candidates; and in the latter by the pragmatical folly of the Democrats, or, it may be, by their far-sighted wisdom, looking beyond Massachusetts to Washington and from these days of their affliction to those beatific ones, when, according to John Van Buren, their party will "come in to stay," in which these things may accounted to them for righteousness.

The absolute loss of Eleven thousand Free Soil votes, being more than a quarter of their party of last year, shows how little depeadence can be put upon the class of men who see no way of salvation, excepting through the polls. There was no change of principle, the testimony to be borne was as important and would be as emphatic in rebuke of the Taylor faction as the last year, and yet a fourth part of those Sons of Light were drawn after their old parties, or else did not care enough about the matter to vote at all. The American character is not one favorable to the formation and maintenance of an Independent party. The Free Soil experiences of this and last year may be of service by way of education and discipline, and may tend to prepare the way for a Northern and Anti-Slavery party, which shall have an attainable and unmistakeable object. But it will take a good deal of time, or a good deal of *kicking*, to get a sufficient number of the Northern People up to the requisite *scratch*. One thing our Anti-Slavery politicians must learn, and that is that it is absurd for them to aim at Anti-Slavery ends by seeking to raise themselves or their friends to the offices of honor and profit and yet give themselves the airs of Garrison Abolitionists all the time. And they must learn not to be too nice, but to know that a Vote is a Vote, and that Scrupulosity, though a very good thing in Morals, is great nonsense in Politics.

Last week there was held in this City of Conventions, one of a novel description, but one which, I apprehend, the most strenuous adversary of Organizations could not find it in his heart to condemn. I allude to the Convention of Poultry breeders and fanciers, which had for its object the improvement of those valuable members of Society, and the elevation of "*Chicken-fixin's*" forever out of the category of "*Common doin's.*" Contemporaneously with the Convention of the Breeders was held one of the Poultry themselves (like, to compare great things with small, the simultaneous Assemblings of the Free Soilers and the Democrats) which confirmed the action of the other body with entire unanimity. This Convention was held in a Great Tent in the Public Garden at the bottom of the Common. It was numerously attended and every shade and variety of that numerous Connection was ably represented. It would not, perhaps, be called strictly a *Free* Meeting, for though there was no restriction upon the most perfect freedom of Utterance, the members were rigidly confined to the point before the Meeting. The Convention fully answered its purpose, which is more than can be said of most of those held by the unfeathered bipeds, and, moreover, every member had an ample opportunity for a personal display of himself, which is more than can be said of any of them. The variety was very great and beautiful, and the impulse given to the pursuit must have been valuable. Mr. Webster contributed a couple of specimens of geese.—Whether either were of the rare variety that lays the golden eggs, I did not learn. Indeed, it is the opinion, in these parts, that he killed that valuable animal last year, at the time he pronounced the nomination it was cackling over as one "unfit to be made."

Last evening a Public Meeting was held by the American Peace Society, in the Tremont Temple to receive the delegates to the Paris Convention, on their return home. It is needless to say that your Correspondent was *thar*. The Chair was taken by Colonel Josiah Quincy, jr., by particular request. This gentleman is not, I believe, a member of the Peace Society, but as neither this circumstance nor the fact that he avowed himself in favor of military establishments and of all necessary fighting were thought material objections by the promoters of the Meeting, he could not object to presiding over it. After a few introductory remarks by the Chairman and prayer by the Rev. Charles Brooks, Amasa Walker, Esq., was introduced. He rejoiced to be the messenger of Triumph, of the greatest Victory Peace had ever achieved. He gave an historical narrative of the adventures of the Pilgrims to Paris, with which your readers are already sufficiently well acquainted. He dilated on the glories which encompassed the Convention, the Notabilities that illustrated it, the festivities that followed it. The American Delegation, he said, was unpleasantly small, consisting of but twenty-five, all told; but he accounted for it by the fact that in this Country it is the Martyr Age of the Peace Cause! And, of course, it was not to be expected that a numerous detachment of this Noble Army of Martyrs would take up their Cross and their line of march for Paris; particularly, as it was uncertain whether the Convention would be held on account of the Cholera.—And he announced a Convention for next year at Frankfort on Maine.

Next, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Allen, of Northampton, spoke of the fraternization of the Abbé Du Guerry and the Pastor Coquerel, as the representatives of Catholicism and Protestantism, and afterwards of the former gentleman and Mr. Spencer, I believe, an English clergyman of the Established Church. He also mentioned the attentions of the Officers of the Meeting to the Rev. Mr. Pennington, a man of color, after he had finished his speech. But the Reverend gentleman remembered to forget the animated reception of William W. Brown, and the enthusiasm he excited, which led the way to Mr. Pennington's appearance. None of the delegates who spoke alluded to Mr. Brown's success, which was clearly, from the French accounts, the great feature of the Convention, as far as the Delegation from this country was concerned. It was not gratifying to those gentlemen, doubtless, to have had the wind taken out of their sails, in public and in private, by a runaway Nigger; but the historical fact should not have been suppressed. Dr. Allen showed us the pocket Testament in French which was presented to the American Delegates by their English brethren and concluded with an account of the great meetings which welcomed the latter home; from which, compared with the thin audience before him, he seemed to inter that more interest is felt in the subject there than here.

The Rev Dr. William Allen, of Northampton, next delivered a written discourse, in which he recapitulated the particulars which had been already twice told, with all the unction and self-complacency of the Pulpit. He did not mention his attempt to save the character of the American Peace men from the charge of Ultraism, which had the effect of eliciting the fact that the English and French are far in advance of the Americans in thoroughness of principle and largeness of views; nor his patriotic attempt to vindicate the North from the imputation of sustaining Slavery, nor of the triumphant manner in which his positions were turned and he routed ignominiously by Brown, the escaped slave. But Brown had studied constitutional law at the feet of Southern Gamaliel, and carried his Diploma plainly written upon his back, so that he was necessarily a better judge of it than any Doctor of Divinity in the land, few of whom have enjoyed his advantages. After a few words from the Rev. James F. Clarke, Elihu Burritt, Esq. was introduced to the Meeting and received with considerable applause. Mr. Burritt took a survey of the progress of the Peace Cause from 1815 to the Paris Congress, and was of opinion that it had been advancing in a Geometrical Ratio all the time. This he saw in the Peace Convention in London of 1843, and then in that at Brussels in 1848 and then in the crowning mercy of the Paris Congress. The countenance given to the first by Members of Parliament, the opening to the second of the Palace of the Prime Minister of Belgium and the Notabilities there assembled, and finally the friendly reception extended to the Delegates by the French Government, seemed to him signs of great acceleration. These things he thought should encourage the timid friends of Peace. The long martyrdom of the American Peace Society had at last received a Crown of Glory in this world. The Sorrows of my Lord Plumb Cake were swallowed up in Victory. If these things seem to be ominous of the speedy coming of the Reign of Peace, Mr. Burritt will have enough of them He need have no fear as to the success of the Frankfort Congress, as long as Philanthropy can be combined with Half-Price, and a cheap trip of pleasure erected into a Virtue.

I have already overpassed my usual limits, but I must make one or two remarks by way of Improvement to my Discourse on this text. And, first, it is to be noted that none of the speakers alluded to the observable fact, indeed the condition precedent of the Meeting, the agreement that no allusion should be made to European politics! Of what value should we esteem an Anti Slavery Convention which could be held at Charleston, S. C., in the City Hall, and entertained by Mr Calhoun and Mr MacDuffie, on condition that nothing should be said about American Slavery! Would Mr. Burritt think such a Convention a step in a Geometrical Ratio of Anti-Slavery Progression? Secondly, that while all the speakers were glorifying Mr. Victor Hugo and the Protestant Pastor Coquerel for the great words they were speaking for Peace, they omitted to mention that both those eminent friends of Peace voted in the Legislative Assembly in favor of the infamous attack on Rome! And thirdly, and to conclude, that the Members and Friends of the Broad Street Committee, Messrs. Sturge, Scoble & Co., who are of too pure eyes to sit in Convention with Garrison, or to act with him against Slavery, on account of his heresies, had no scruple in giving the Right hand of Fellowship to Victor Hugo, and placing him at their head, a man infamous for his writings and his private life, who, within two or three years, was the object of a criminal process for the seduction of the young wife of his most intimate friend, under aggravating circumstances, from the consequences of which he escaped by pleading his Peerage, while his poor victim had to undergo the rigor of the law, and who is probably not more orthodox on the Sabbath question than Garrison himself?! Nor did they object to fraternize with Girardin, of as indifferent a reputation as Hugo with his hand red with the blood of Carrel, whom he killed in a duel. Mr. Burritt appears to be an amiable and well-meaning man but he is sadly mistaken if he thinks that the persons who made up the Par Congress are those who are to regenerate a fighting world, or if he accepts the civilities of the French Government, extended to them on the condition of their holding their tongues, as a sign of the Progress of the Peace Cause. They prove directly the contrary. Had the French President esteemed the Congress as anything more than a harmless humbug, which could make no impression on the warlike spirit of France, and its members as inoffensive people to be civil to whom could do no harm and would look well, Mr. Burritt may be assured that the Congress would at least have had to endure the martyrdom of being condemned to to Exeter Hall.—D. Y.

Letter from Phi.

NOVEMBER 23, 1849.

FRIEND GAY:—As the *Standard* of the 1st instant failed to reach your correspondent, he was so much unhinged that he has almost lost his reckoning. That distinguished sheet is about as needful to his intellectual being, as was the pipe to the Frenchman. "Begar! my pipe go out; I neider see, work or tink, widout my pipe."

That erudite spiritualist H. B. B was so pointed in his revival argument, that this occasion was about to be employed in a profound metaphysical disquisition upon the nature of these special outpourings. But, lo! a prompter pen in Unionville took up the subject and did all my talking up for me. So I am compelled to look still farther.

Having been the subject of revivals of religion—and an attendant upon stated preaching—of which the pious Benjamin so eloquently discourseth, I have given the matter some attention. H. B. B. assumes this postulate, that God is the author of revivals; then coupling the proposition that they are most abundant in the slaveholding portion of God's moral vineyard, he infers that God sanctions the "Peculiar Institution." These copious showers of grace descend to water Slavery, that choice vine of his own right hand's planting! This is orthodox with a vengeance. To quote from George Bradburn—*tone and all*—"I would much rather be among burrdocks, for they say there is substance enough in burrdocks to keep a jackass from starving, but there is not enough in such orthodoxy to save the soul of a musquito." But for a moment's graver notice.

In these special outpourings, which almost always come in the winter, or when business is not very driving, a popular revivalist is set at work. He arouses a great deal of contrition for certain sins, and the penitent confess by wholesale—seldom specially—their enormities. An excessive excitement of the animal feelings is directly produced first from the preacher to certain women of the congregation, then it proceeds to the men, and thence operates interchangeably.

This is neither abusing nor caricaturing. I stand ready with proof. And further; the moral influence of a revival is generally more detrimental to good morals, sound piety and proper benevolence, than a pestilence is to physical health. Let alone the coldness to religion which follows these spasms, the convert supposes that he has a warranter deed of salvation, and is not necessitated to perform good works. He is justified by faith; and such creative performances he has nothing to do with. Ecstacies are the orthodox substitute for obedience to God.

No wonder then that in communities where people are less intelligent, such excitements are plentiful. No wonder that a land of Slavery and human degradation is one where revivals display all the glory and power of the ten-horned beast. No matter though man's life is in hourly peril; though civil justice is but an empty form; though personal liberty is forfeited without crime; though outraged charity shrinks in the grasp of the debauchee, they have revivals of religion, and that for them is enough, the Lord must certainly bless them. But I pass from this revolting, diabolical, orthodox piety.

You are probably aware that Gerrit Smith has made a new step in religion. I allude to his adhesion given to the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. This will give a new complexion to the Free Church. Whether the cause is to gain by this attempt to create man for the Sabbath I leave others to judge. Still let every man's conscience decide.

As to politics I find it easier to think than to speak; so did Patrick's parrot, the owl. I had reckoned so much on Barnburner defection that I supposed the Whig majority in the Empire to be some 15000, when lo! it was a drawn game. I had utterly forgot the balance of power party—I mean the Anti-Renters. To-be-sure numbers of Free Soilers staid at home, the colored men voted the Taylor ticket, and the Gates and Stanton people, like a blushing bride, sunk snugly into the army of Hunkerdom, and so it went. A *denouement* is at hand. The new motto of 'Fraternity' has not been adopted for nothing. Though there may not be a *better* day coming there are glorious times ahead. I wish D. Y. could sojourn at Albany three months of next year.

Seldom has a State election been more notable for wholesale corruption. One candidate for Sheriff in a central county shod up a multitude of Irishmen, so report says, and his adherents do not deny it; and his rival it is said bought voters at a dollar a head: the richest man got the office. This is indeed a Model Republic!

The Ohio Young Men's Convention have done something towards a start. It is little use to talk and write this measure over; the affair must be reduced to a system; the idea must become a measure. Perhaps this is too soon; but it is time to devise. Several years since quite a number of petitions were sent into the Massachusetts Legislature praying for the dissolution of the Union; yet very many who signed that petition supported Briggs and the Whig ticket and will do so till the *real* Abolitionists form a party. Our people will vote; they would die almost if they did not. A Yankee is a voting animal; that is all that distinguishes him from the brutes, and he feels it. Set up a standard, let there be a mark to shoot at and it will be a step. So long as Abolitionists are disorganized and disorganizers, there will be no great accessions to their cause. Ohio has begun the amendment. Let Garrison, Burleigh, H. C. Wright and a dozen others go through that State and there would be hope; the Emancipation Engine would be set ahead a long piece, and the river States would shout from the great Lakes, and re-echo upon the great Border torrents—Liberty! Liberty for all! But as it is much easier to tell what should be done, than it is to do one's own part in the matter, I close this communication for fear of whipping myself in the face.

PHI.

☞ Cannot the Syracuse Convention be held so that members of the Electic Medical Society can attend both meetings?

Communications.

FREE PRODUCE.

REPLY TO "ALPHA" .....NO II.

FRIEND GAY:—My friend "Alpha" considerably relaxes the vigor of his accusation against the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for having falsified their profession relative to the labor of freemen and slaves. He ought to have retracted the charge altogether, and acknowledged that the Society's Declaration does not set forth total abstinence from slave-labor products as an indispensable Anti-Slavery duty. But he still insists that the Declaration means a great deal more than my construction of the language admits, and thinks *that* construction renders the clause quoted "a mere puerility." If he can prove by the Declaration itself, or the records of the convention which adopted it, or the testimony of the Committee which reported it, or the subsequent action under it, that the clause in question was *intended* to mean more than I have admitted, let him do so. Unless he does this, I hold him in candor bound to retract his accusation. He may call our real position "a mere puerility" if he pleases, but should cease to charge us with infidelity to our own professions.

"Alpha" seems not to be pleased with my summing up his accusation in two distinct charges, and then asking him fourteen questions. He thinks I did not sufficiently attend to the moral considerations set forth in his article. I endeavored to do so, and am sorry he demurs to the propriety of my questions. This discussion is one which requires clear, definite and discriminating statements respecting facts, principles, positions, opinions and measures. Otherwise the whole subject will remain involved in mystification, confusion and obscurity. Under this persuasion, and not from negligence of "Alpha's" elaborate pleadings, or any desire to take unfair advantage of him, I have sought to bring out the naked points at issue, and to test the soundness of his Free Produce doctrine. I therefore reduce his whole accusatory plea to its essence, which is this: ☞ *You are worse than the slaveholder; for with less temptation and more light, you receive his stolen goods and supply him with* MONEY—*which is his sovereign motive for continuing a thief.* ☜ This is the whole of it in a nutshell. I consider this plea utterly fallacious, and the better to demonstrate that it is so, I asked those fourteen questions. "Alpha" has not answered them with the directness and explicitness I desired, but I will be thankful that he has answered them at all. He has thereby much facilitated the discussion. I will now proceed to defend the accused against the charges so confidently preferred.

CHARGE 1. *You are receivers of stolen goods.* Is this a *fact*, or a *fiction*? I pronounce it a sheer fiction, founded on the fallacious assumption that a man can be both a *slave* and a *proprietor*, at the same moment: whereas, if a man is held as a slave, he is thereby divested of all proprietory rights. He can own nothing—he is a mere chattel, the involuntary working instrument of the slaveholder. The idea that the slaveholder steals the slave's goods, after having deprived him of *self-ownership*, is preposterous. The slave has neither choice, voice, nor interest as a producer! He is a mere *instrument* of production, absolutely in the power of the master, who *wills, calculates, directs* and *controls* the whole process from beginning to end. The slave has not one attribute of a proprietor. He is neither partner with his master, nor a person under his guardianship. He is a *slave*. The laws of fifteen States of this Union declare him to be such. The people of the other fifteen States recognize him as such. And the whole physical force of the Union is organically pledged to keep him such during his master's pleasure. His master is the sole proprietor of the cotton, rice, corn, sugar, tobacco, &c., which he produces by slave instrumentality. Such all the laws of the land hold him to be, and as such they require that he be treated.

At the bar of the divine moral law he stands a MANTHIEF; not a *cotton, rice, sugar*, or *tobacco* thief. At that bar he will not be tried for stealing *goods* from his *slave*, but for the capital crime of stealing the man himself—thereby totally divesting him at once of all proprietory rights. Should we think of arraigning a murderer for *assault and battery*, because after killing a man he handled the corpse roughly? No; he would be tried and condemned for *murder*. His crime of murder would comprehend all. Whether he *kicked* or *kissed* the corpse of his victim would be of no account Just so slaveholding. It is man-stealing protracted—at the bar of the divine moral law a capital crime—a crime which overshadows and comprehends all subsequent incidental wrongs,—a gigantic theft, which by taking the man from himself and reducing him to a chattel, renders it impossible to steal anything else from him. To talk, then, of the *cotton, rice*, &c. which the *slave*, like the *ox*, is forced to help produce, being *stolen goods*, is a perversion of language—an absurdity in the nature of things. This is further evident from the fact, that if these stolen goods, so called, were all restored to the *slave*, not one fraction of them could be his property so long as he remained a *slave*. And even if the master should consent to let his slave have the disposal of them, to use for his sole personal enjoyment, still holding him a slave, he would be none the less a thief, a man stealer, how much soever less an oppressor. Have we not heard of slaveholders exempting their favorite female slaves from all ordinary drudgery, and giving them the most sumptuous treatment? Is such slaveholding less sinful than that which raises cotton, rice and sugar for sale, by driving labor out of its victims with a whip?

Now "Alpha" knows very well that no man can be both a *slave* and a *proprietor* of goods at the same time. Yet he gravely assumes that the slaves are proprietors of all the goods they are forced to help produce. Just hear him: "The right of man to the products of his labor is coeval with the creation of the species." "Planting himself on this paramount right, the slave may well say to the usurper of his powers of labor—'With these powers a good God has given me a part of this fair earth on which to exert them, and you have chosen to fix that part here. This sugar, this cotton, this corn is mine." This is very pretty *rhetoric*, but not the soundest *logic*. Suppose the slave should plant himself on his "paramount right" and begin to hold forth with this rhetorical flourish; how far would he proceed before being knocked down, kicked and flogged for his temerity? And what if he should *fight* for his "paramount right," or *run away* to enjoy it? Why, then he would find the whole army, navy, militia, jurisprudence, civil authority and loyal citizenship of the United States against him, not excepting now and then a Free Producer, some of whom can confederate with slaveholders as co-governing voters of the Federal Union, though their consciences will not allow them to make use of slave labor products! Such is the condition of "Alpha's" ficticious proprietor and claimant of stolen goods. It is this same legal nonentity, this chattel personal of the manthief, who, without law, without public opinion in his favor, without his own soul or body, without one recognized right of a human proprietor, and against the force and arms of a mighty nation, may well plead before the usurper and the usurper's citizen confederates, his "paramount right" to all the cotton, corn, sugar, and tobacco he has been forced to help produce. It is *he*, of whose *stolen goods* we hypocritical disunion Abolitionists of New England, are the guilty receivers, more guilty than slaveholders! And it is this same ficticious claimant who cannot be indemnified with anything else but just the clothing on our backs, the rice on our platters, and the rags in our bags! These he cannot come and reclaim by due process of law, nor *hold*, if our smitten consciences should impel us to go and lay them at his feet!! It surpasses my comprehension how people of sense can gravely take up such fallacies as these, and spend years in reiterating against devoted Abolitionists the high sounding but utterly groundless accusation, that they are *receivers of stolen goods*, because, for the necessary purposes of life, they buy, honestly pay for, and peaceably consume articles of food and clothing partly produced by means of slave labor. I consider Alpha's first charge exploded.

CHARGE II. *You supply the slaveholder with money which is his sovereign motive for continuing a manthief.* Without stopping to contest the question whether money is the ruling motive of the slaveholder, which I do not grant except pro tempore for the sake of despatch, I will admit that in the ordinary course of trade, the accused do aid in supplying the slaveholder with money. And now what of this? Our accuser alleges that if the slaveholder could get no money for his slave products he

the crime of the accused is substantially that set forth under Charge I., viz. being *partakers with the thief in stolen goods*. That charge I have sufficiently refuted; and until "Alpha" shall have disentangled his contradictory positions it is unnecessary for me to pursue this part of the defence further. I await his explanations.

I wish now to notice some of the very extraordinary assumptions put forth in "Alpha's" answers to my fourteen questions. In *Ans.* I. he tacitly admits that the slaveholder rightfully owns the houses, lands, stock and personal powers which he invests in the business of production; yet insists that all the proceeds rightfully belong to the slave. "Whatever facilities," says he, "the coercing party has thrown in, in aid of the production, belongs to him holding the paramount right." Will he inform me what sort of justice this is, and where he learns such ethics?

In *Ans.* IV. he says,—"Neither in common law nor in common sense could a man be sustained in claiming the money for which a thing stolen was sold. His rights are in the thing stolen." I am not well read in treatises on common law, but have some ideas of natural justice and common sense. These do not accord at all with what "Alpha" here asserts. It is plain enough to me that a man ought to have the right to reclaim the identical thing stolen from him, if he choose the same rather than an equivalent, and it be *reclaimable*. But as there are comparatively few cases in which the identical articles stolen remain uninjured, or are reclaimable except in money, or some equivalent, the VALUE alone is that which the loser must of necessity seek. Nor, in nine cases out of ten, does he care for anything else. If I had a nice watch, or cane, or book, stolen from me, which had been presented to me by a friend, or which I regarded with peculiar partiality, doubtless I should be anxious to reclaim the very thing stolen, if possible. But if the article had been nearly or quite destroyed, I should claim the *value* in money, or some other equivalent. If raw cotton, or molasses or rice, or corn, had been stolen from me, sold, transported to foreign parts, and worked up into various fabrics, and partly consumed, I should neither demand, wish nor expect anything but their *value* in money, or some acceptable equivalent. In this view of the subject, it seems to me absurd to say that the slave's claim is on the identical *cotton*, &c. raised by means of his labor. Where is that cotton? Everywhere and in every shape which can render it irreclaimable, or to him useless. I now ask "Alpha" to quote me from some standard writer on Common Law a passage or two in confirmation of his assertion. It is so contrary to my ideas of natural justice and practicability that I am curious to know what eminent writer on common law he has for authority.

In *Ans.* V, It is asserted that "*the thing stolen never ceases to be stolen till it gets back to the rightful owner.*" Hence if three pounds of raw cotton was stolen, and the thief sold it to an honest man, who paid him all it was worth, and then sold it to another honest man, who also paid all it was worth, and it was then manufactured into cloth, sold to me, for its increased value, made into a shirt, worn out, sold for rags to the paper maker for its then value, made into paper and sold again to me for its then value, and finally used by me to write this communication on,—when it gets to friend Gay's Compositors, "*there it is stolen, stolen, stolen, and we can't help it.*" On the same ground all the land which our forefathers robbed the Indians of remains "stolen, stolen, stolen." I cannot assent to such extravagant doctrines. They are contrary to those facts which are everywhere recognized by the common sense of mankind. When property which has been stolen becomes irreclaimable and unrestorable to the natural owners, and passes by rightful means into the possession of persons innocent of the wrong originally done, it ceases to be *stolen property*, to all reasonable intents and purposes, and is thenceforth to be regarded accordingly.—This is the case with the land on which I reside, and the cotton clothing on my person—whatever former robbery or theft, *actual* or *constructive* against the Indian or the African, can be made out. And if any one should now dispossess me of these articles, under pretext of reclaiming stolen property, I should consider it an act of *robbery*; everything which "Alpha" has said to the contrary notwithstanding.

In *Ans.* VI, Alpha places the use of slave products in the same category with *prize-goods* taken in war by *privateers*, or those brought into market by *pirates*.—But this is assuming too much. The analogy fails in the essential point of primary proprietorship. The privateer and pirate actually rob *bona fide* proprietors,—those so deeming themselves, and so recognized by all mankind. But the *slave* is no proprietor at all, *while a slave*. He *cannot* be one. He does not deem himself one, nor was ever in possession of the goods alleged to have been stolen, nor was he their sole producer, nor can he reclaim them if he would, nor would they go into his possession if restored. The claim set up for him is wholly a metaphysical, constructive and impracticable one. This makes the difference between the two cases, and it is a *radical* difference, which "Alpha" ought not to have overlooked. These false analogies and unwarantable assumptions greatly mystify subjects of this nature, and cannot be too carefully excluded from the discussion.

In *Ans.* VII, Which should have explicitly stated whether the *principle*, on which total abstinence from slave-labor products is made a duty, is one of universal application, I find the following indefinite proposition: "Where other usable goods are systematically obtained by as strong a violation of the moral law as the goods of Slavery, and the using of them as palpably perpetuates that violation, the same ban attaches to their use." But who is to judge of all these conditionalities? And what if the *sin* involved is not quite so rank as that of Slavery? In that case there is no obligation to abstain from the products contaminated, is there? I object to this sort of morality which runs out into extreme scruples in *spots*, and sets forth no settled principles applicable to ordinary cases. It is thus that people eat sugar, manufactured by means of the Hill Coolies in the West Indies, and wear linen from Ireland, wrung from the sinews of the half-paid, half-starved peasantry, and use hemp and iron wrought by the serfs of Russia, without the least uneasiness; but look upon a New England Abolitionist, however otherwise devoted and uncompromising, as a hypocrite, and really guiltier than the slaveholder, because he wears clothing made out of Carolina cotton, and eats rice from Georgia. It is impossible for me to regard scruples so *strict* in one direction, and so *easy* in another, with the reverence demanded for them. If it is because my moral vision is perverted, may it be speedily renovated.

In *Ans.* XIV, "Alpha" says,—"The Memphis merchant acted naturally in buying his goods of those friendly to the Southern system. We do not perceive but that he was right provided the institution were itself right, in surrounding it by all the support of his commercial influence." Then the old example, of *no dealings* between the *Jews and Samaritans*, is a good one. As every one will be his own judge whether his institutions are "*rights*," it follows that every sect, party and class, may rightfully employ their monetary power and commercial influence to starve out all who are opposed to their institutions. This sort of warfare is no doubt *natural* to a certain stamp of minds, but it is neither Christ-like, nor in the long run politic. Like all other contests, in which men struggle to overcome evil with evil, it renders the case worse, costs more than it comes to, and winds up in the mutual proffer of the two parties—"*if you'll be civil, I will.*" It is a game altogether beneath enlarged and noble souls.—☞ Trade with any man who is independent enough to express his honest convictions of dissent from your own, and manly enough to not to be offended at your doing the same towards him. Buy of him only that which is good in itself, of which he is the real proprietor, or proprietor's agent, and which you design to put to a proper use. Then pay him a just equivalent, and leave him to answer for his own iniquities,—only taking care not to fellowship or approve him therein. If you are really a wiser and better man than he you will not fail to exert over him all the good influence of which he is susceptible, much more effectually than you could do in attempting to starve or cripple him in his pecuniary interests, by withholding the profits of ordinary trade and business. ☞ This is my position, rule of action, and counsel to others. Of course, it does not interfere with my natural right, or general duty to give preference of patronage to any person or class of persons who I believe ought to receive it for the encouragement of their good endeavors in behalf of our common humanity.

In relation to "Alpha's" extract from the letter of Hon. J. E. Morse of Louisiana, I have only to say, that it weighs nothing in the determination of this question.—It only shows how ingenious a shift the slaveholder can make to ease his own conscience, by insinuating that others are more guilty for not starving him into an abandonment of his iniquity, than he is for persisting in it against all the dictates of divine law, and the cries of outraged nature. If every slaveholder in this slaveholding confederacy should write just such a letter, the whole would weigh nothing. For every one of them would know that he was suggesting a scheme, which in the very nature of things never could command unanimity enough in the civilized world to accomplish its ostensible object, but would prove to the slaveholding interest a capital device for busying the Abolitionists, absorbing up their attention, and diverting them from measures really fatal to "the peculiar institution."—And I have no doubt it would delight the slaveholders to see all the Abolitionists giving themselves up, for a generation, to the scheme proposed by the Hon. J. E. Morse, as the only certain and unexceptionable method of abolishing Slavery. It would entirely relieve their fears, and at the same time afford them abundant amusement. The only wonder with me is, that men of "Alpha's" shrewdness should regard such hollow talk from slaveholders as good capital for his cause. The more endorsers he gets from that quarter, the less confidence will New England Abolitionists have in his favorite "staff of accomplishment." They are not accustomed to confide much in measures for the Abolition of Slavery, which are warmly recommended by the patriarchs of the plantation. They remember the fable of the cat rolled in meal, which was only the more dangerous the less she *seemed* like herself.

In conclusion, I will endeavor to explain my views relative to the general duty of encouraging the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, what I mean by *honorable expediency* in such cases, and what are "the qualifying conditions and contingencies which form justifiable exceptions" to the general rule.

1. I should insist that the articles purporting to be free labor products were *really such*. They must have been produced by actual freemen, whose treatment and compensation decently corresponded with their rights; and the proprietory producers must be persons not in fellowship with any church, or any government, which sanctions slaveholding. I should not consider produce from the British West Indies *Free* which had been raised by means of Hill Coolies, or extorted from the necessities of half-starved dependents, by a planter who took no humane interest in the welfare of his late slaves. Nor, if a set of men in the South should profess to raise and furnish free produce, who, while they owned no nominal slaves themselves, nevertheless, belonged to a religious sect which allowed its members to hold slaves, or accepted office, or voted for others to hold office, under the present government of a *slave State*, or of the United States, I should consider their Free Produce a *sham*. Because a religious or political confederate with slaveholders, is to all practical intents and purposes a slaveholder himself. He is *with* and *for* that whole system of public opinion, legislation and armed force which keeps the slaves in their chains, and renders it impossible for them either to enjoy the fruits of their toil, or to regain self-proprietorship. But if the articles purporting to be free-labor produce were *really such*, then,

2. I should insist that the venders of them sustained a general moral character in keeping with the avowed design of encouraging free labor, and especially that they were devoted friends of the Anti-Slavery cause. I would not go a rod out of my way to buy the purest produce in the world, if the man who sold it was a grog-seller, or a debauchee, or a knavish jockey, or a mere mercenary *money-catcher*, or anything less than a decent moral man and an unequivocal Abolitionist. If such a person as last mentioned kept a store of real free-labor products, or was an agent for their sale, within reasonable hailing distance of my residence, I should feel it a duty, a privilege, and a pleasure to buy all the goods I needed of him, and to encourage others to do so, even if I had to pay a large percentage above the price at which I could elsewhere purchase *slave-labor* products. I would follow out the same general course, in giving preference to the labors of any person or body of persons, whom I believed to be honestly and rationally endeavoring to promote the regeneration of the human race. And if any of the accused, whose defence I have been attempting, refuse to do as much as I have here avowed my willingness to do, I shall not be their apologist. Such is my ground, such the range of what I call an *honorable expediency* under a general duty, and such some of the qualifying conditions which would determine my conduct in particular cases.

Finally, I wish to be distinctly understood on the subject of abstinence from slave-labor products, as a practice by itself. While I *deny in toto* that those products are, in any proper sense of the term, "*stolen goods*," that it is a sin *per se* to use them, and that it is a duty not to pay money for them in the way of trade to the slaveholder, because it will keep him a slaveholder; and while, also, I am fully of the opinion that the doctrines contended for so strenuously by "Alpha" tend rather to retard than promote the Anti-Slavery reform, by *under*valuing great practicable measures, and *over*valuing impracticable ones; yet I regard it as highly commendable in any devoted advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause, to deny him or herself the use of slave-labor products, as an expression of abhorrence for Slavery, and a frequently recurring testimony against its abominations. When this is done without dogmatism towards others, by *individuals*, whose character and conduct are otherwise in keeping with the moral sensibility thus indicated, I shall venerate it just as I do *celibacy* or *poverty*, when voluntarily practised for righteousness, and human redemption's sake. This is all I have to say on the general subject till I hear from "Alpha" again.

Fraternally yours,

ADIN BALLOU.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON HOLLOW.

A Mass Convention of the opponents of American Slavery, and the advocates of immediate emancipation, was held in the Presbyterian church at Washington Hollow, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 14th and 15th of November inst., commencing on the 14th at 10 o'clock A. M.

On motion, Edward Hallock, of Milton, was appointed Chairman pro tem., and Mathew Parrington, of Wappingers Falls, Secretary pro tem.

The Chair appointed John L. Haight, S. S. Foster, Thomas Drake, Elizabeth Drake and Riley Shadbolt, a committee to nominate officers for the permanent organization of the convention. The committee reported for President JAMES THORN of Clinton; for Vice Presidents DANIEL GEROW of Plattekill and ALANSON THORN of Stanford; for Secretaries MATHEW FARRINGTON of Wappingers Falls and HANNAH SHEERMAN of Milton. Report accepted and unanimously adopted.

S. S. Foster stated that the object of the meeting was to call together the friends of the Anti-Slavery enterprise in Dutchess county, for free discussion of its principles and to devise means for the advancement of the cause. He moved that a Business Committee be appointed to prepare resolutions for the consideration and action of the convention. L. F. Waldo, Edward Hull, John L. Haight, Abby Kelley Foster, Lucretia Mott, S. S. Foster and Nicholas Hallock were appointed such committee.

A large number of citizens were in attendance to take part in the proceedings, and to listen to the discussions, which were continued with unabated interest until the close of the convention.

The following communication from a colored man in Salem, N. J. was accepted and ordered to be printed with the proceedings of the convention:

To the President and members of the A. S. Convention, held at Washington Hollow, Nov. 14, 1849.

Dear Friends—I send you a copy of the *Liberia Advocate*, which contains some of the "beauties" of colonization. I would like much to be with you, but my business will not permit me. I submit the following resolution for your consideration:

Whereas we regard the colonizationists as the supporters of prejudice, the friends of oppression, and the enemies of humanity; Therefore,

Resolved, That we recommend the Congress of the United States to make an appropriation to send all the colonizationists to the land of their forefathers.

Will you give this resolution a consideration.

I remain an enemy to colonization,

Nov. 9. 1849. J. S. ROCK.

The following resolutions were presented by the Business Committee and others, and, after discussion, were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judfment of this convention, slaveholding is a sin of the highest magnitude, necessarily involving a violation of every commandment of the living God: and that we are therefore under the most sacred obligation to regard and treat as *criminals* all who practice or approve it, and to demand, as the only lawful remedy the *immediate and unconditional emancipation* of all the enslaved.

2. *Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is not the friend of the slave, but a wicked scheme of the slaveholder; that the attempt of its upholders to expatriate citizens of this country, or to make them willing to go to Africa, by perpetuating the social and civil disabilities under which they suffer here, is a gross violation of their natural rights; and that adherence to the righteous doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation of necessity implies uncompromising hostility to the colonization scheme.

3. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation is the only righteous doctrine, and inasmuch as it is always safe and practicable to do right, and to do right *now*, all attempts to remove the curse of Slavery which only aim to "limit" and "localise" it, are not only highly inexpedient, but are a sacrifice of the sacred rights of three millions of the enslaved.

4. *Resolved*, That the result of the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British West India Islands, proves conclusively that immediate emancipation is not only "*right*," but eminently "*safe* and *practicable*."

5. *Resolved*, That, in the language of the Rev. Dr. Young, of Perth, Scotland, "the grand error of the American churches was opening the door of their fellowship to the admission of slaveholders. It was this which, by an obvious moral sequence, sophisticated their consciences, lowered the tone of their testimony, led them to tamper with the word of God, and involved them in all their present troubles. They excluded the thief or the robber who happened to have secular law against him; but the legalized in theft and robbery, whose guilt was far greater, they took to their bosom as brethren in Christ. This was their error—their great, their primary, their stupefying error; and till this error be retrieved—till they are brought to feel and to act on the feeling, that the pure morality of the gospel is opposed, and opposed alike, to *every* 'want of conformity to, or transgression of the law of God,' their recovery is hopeless."

6. *Resolved*, That from the first hour that the Abolitionists espoused the cause of the slave, they necessarily, as a matter of principle, broke their alliance with the slaveholders; and if any of them are found clinging to churches which give the right hand of christian fellowship to a slaveholder, it is simply because they are yet blind to their whole duty, or, seeing it, are guilty of betraying that cause to which they sacredly pledged themselves.

7. *Resolved*, That as Slavery exists in the District of Columbia by the direct legislation of Congress, and the free States are bound by the Constitution to surrender fugitive slaves to their masters, to march a military force into the South to suppress the slave insurrection, and by a law of the Federal Government a fine of five hundred dollars is imposed upon any person who shall aid a slave in escaping from his oppressors; the sin of slaveholding is not peculiar to the South, but rests alike upon all, whether North or South, who give their countenance and support to the existing government and constitution of the country.

8. *Resolved*, That as the Federal Union with its compromises, after an experiment of more than half a century, has signally failed to secure the blessings of Liberty to the country, and has left us with a Government more oppressive towards a portion of its subjects, than the worst despotism of the Old World, it is alike the dictate of patriotism and christianity to withdraw from it our further support, and to seek—in all honorable and peaceful ways—its immediate dissolution as the only legitimate means of establishing a government on the true principles of Liberty and Equality.

9. *Resolved*, That the distinctions of color so extensively prevalent in this country, are not based upon principle, but upon a wicked *prejudice*—the offspring of American Slavery; and that the declaration that such distinctions are ordained of God is an impeachment of his character, and a libel upon his government.

10 Whereas a pro-slavery public sentiment, appealing to the wicked prejudice against the people of color, is everywhere in this country raising the cry of "amalgamation" against the Abolitionists, for the purpose of impeding the progress of their glorious principles; Therefore

Resolved, That if we are amalgamationists, then were our revolutionary fathers amalgamationists, as they with us say, "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty;" then was the apostle Paul an amalgamationist when he declared that 'God had created of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth: then was Jesus of Nazareth an amalgamationist when he says, "One is your father who is in heaven, and all ye are brethren;" then is God himself an amalgamationist, for he "*is no respecter of persons*"

Resolved, That the system of wholesale amalgamation which everywhere results from Slavery, in the striking down of the marriage institution among the slaves, and in depriving woman of all protection for her person, and which is rapidly bleaching out the complexion of the slaves, proves beyond all question that the guilt of a licentious amalgamation rests wholly on the slaveholder and his abetter and apologist.

Resolved, That when Henry Clay, in the United States Senate, declared that under the operation of the slave system all complexionable differences between master and slave would cease in one hundred and fifty or two hundred years at farthest, he said only what every person on reflection must see to be true; and the only way to put an end to this system of amalgamation is to lay the axe at the root of the tree by the total abolition of Slavery.

At the close of the discussion on Thursday evening it was resolved that Messrs. L. F. Waldo, Alanson Thorn, and G. E. White be a committee to fix upon a time and place for another meeting, and that when the convention adjourn it shall adjourn to meet again during the coming winter, at the call of said committee.

On motion Messrs. Waldo and Farrington were appointed to prepare an abstract of the minutes of the Convention for publication, to be signed by its officers; and, after a vote of thanks to the proprietor of the Church for its gratuitous use during the meeting, the Convention adjourned to meet again at the call of the Committee.

FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RHODE ISLAND ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society met in Mechanics' Hall, Providence, on Wednesday morning, November 14th, 1849. The meeting was called to order by George L. Clark, a Vice President of the Society, and Wm. B. Serrington was chosen Secretary pro tem. C. C. Burleigh opened the discussions by a forcible speech upon the past progress and present standing of the Anti-Slavery cause, giving encouraging and cheering facts illustrative of that progress. Frederick Douglass followed in a similar tone, and was succeeded by Dr. Walter Channing, of Boston, who added further facts marking our progress, and commenting with satisfaction upon the recent intelligence of the unanimous adoption of an Anti-Slavery State Constitution by the people of California. The Society then adjourned to meet at half-past 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.—Daniel Mitchell was chosen President pro tem., C. M. Burleigh, Secretary pro tem., and a Business Committee consisting of the following persons was appointed: Frederick Douglass, C. C. Burleigh, George L. Clarke, Rev. Martin Cheney, Mary R. Clarke, Joseph Chase, Susan Sisson, John L. Clarke, James Adams. Mr. Cheney declining, A. R. Jones was substituted in his place. Mrs. Little read a letter from a friend, charging the Society with treating Unitarians as Christians, and on that ground declining to act with it. Mr. Cheney gave a hearty greeting to the Abolitionists present at their meeting "once again," to mingle their sympathies and counsels and labors for the good cause. Though he was not a member of the Society, and knew not that he agreed with the Society in every point, he hoped that no discouragement or difficulty would dishearten the members or prompt the thought of disbanding the organization. He vindicated the Society from the objection of the letter just read, and rejoiced that on its platform no distinction of sect, was known,—that Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, Universalists, Quakers, and men of every other sect stood together as men and Abolitionists. After some informal and incidental discussion between Messrs. Cheney, Ray Potter and C. C. Burleigh, Mr. C. continued his remarks at some length, denouncing the Colonization Society, and appealing to every Abolitionist by his love to the slave, the country and humanity, to continue the agitation of thorough uncompromising Anti-Slavery principles, until we have an Anti-Slavery Congress, an Anti-Slavery Literature, an Anti-Slavery Press and Pulpit and Church, and an Anti-Slavery Nation—until the last vestige of Slavery is swept from the earth.

The Business Committee reported the resolutions numbered 1 and 2 which were accepted for discussion. The Annual Report was then read by the Secretary.

A Finance Committee, consisting of the following persons was appointed: Thomas Davis, Daniel Mitchell, D. B. Harris, C. M. Burleigh and F. Douglass. After further remarks by F. Douglass, C. C. Burleigh, and Ray Potter, the Society adjourned to meet again in the evening.

EVENING.—The Society met as adjourned, Daniel Mitchell in the Chair. Resolution No. 4, handed in to the Business Committee by some stranger was read. C. C. Burleigh spoke at length in support of resolution No. 1, affirming the necessity of the Anti-Slavery agitation, to keep up the tone of the political movement against Slavery. C. L. Remond followed in support of the same resolution, recounting some evidences of the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, and urging an increase of Anti-Slavery zeal and action. George Bradburn supported resolution No. 1, and opposed the resolution avowing the doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders,"

The meeting was concluded by a powerful speech from Frederick Douglass, urging all Abolitionists to press on with the great moral Anti-Slavery movement, leaving the political movement to follow on behind, as it must of necessity, and showing that no political party CAN lift the people above their moral condition, or hope to succeed without adopting the policy of availability. He declared the purpose of the people of color to remain in the country, whether well or ill-treated, and never go to Liberia, and appealed to the whites—to so treat them as to secure their friendship and sympathy. The negroes could not be kicked and cuffed and abused without being made enemies. This nation has four millions of enemies in its own heart, made so by its own action. It has the power to convert them into friends, and why should it not do so, by respecting and protecting their rights? Mr. D. closed by a quotation from Burns—

"Then let us pray, that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That man to man the world all o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

THURSDAY MORNING.—The Society met again at 10 o'clock. Daniel Mitchell in the Chair. The minutes and resolutions having been read, Resolution No. 5. was offered by C. M. Burleigh, and followed by remarks on the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the encouragements to hope and labor in its behalf.

Frederick Douglass presented the claims of the *North Star*, and was supported by remarks in its favor by C. L. Remond, Mr. Cheney and C. C. Burleigh, after which a Nominating Committee was appointed.

C. C. Burleigh, on behalf of the Business Committee introduced the series of resolutions numbered 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, and they were received for discussion, when the Society adjourned to meet again at half-past two o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.—At the opening of the meeting, remarks were made by C. M. Burleigh on the importance of an increase of zeal, activity, and liberality, in support of our cause—appealing to the Abolitionists present to give to the Society the means for a more efficient agitation of the State for the ensuing year.

Resolution No. 3 was then offered by George L. Clarke, who also presented the Treasurer's Report, showing a trifling balance against the Society, and brought up the subject of Finance. While the Finance Committee were taking pledges and donations to the Society, the meeting was further addressed by C. L. Remond and others.

The following list of officers was reported by the Nominating Committee, and unanimously adopted:

PRESIDENT—JOHN BROWN, East Greenwich;
1*st. Vice Pres.*—GEORGE L. CLARKE Providence;
2*d. do. do.*—DANIEL MITCHELL, Pautucket;
Secretary—AMARANCY PAINE, Providence;
Treasurer—MARTIN ROBINSON, "

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Wm. Chace, Thomas Davis, A. R. Jones, S. W. Wheeler, George L. Clarke, John L. Clarke, D. B. Harris, Susan R. Harris, Mary R. Clarke, Abby Burgess, Alexander Luke, Daniel Mitchell, Susan Sisson, John C. Francis, Joseph Chace, Amos J. Ballou.

The meeting then adjourned to evening. The Society having convened at the appointed hour, Resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 were adopted.

The following resolution presented by Mrs. Little was also passed by a unanimous vote:

Resolved, That this Society offer the warmest expressions of sympathy to the surviving friends of their beloved, deceased fellow-laborer, Mary Hathaway, whose presence so long cheered us, and whose memory should ever be preserved in faithful remembrance.

The resolutions upon the Constitution and Union, including the series offered by C. C. Burleigh, and that moved by George L. Clarke, were then taken up and discussed till a late hour by Frederick Douglass, Geo. Bradburn, C. C. Burleigh, Thomas Davis and others; when on motion of Thomas Davis they were all laid on the table, that the question might be more fully discussed hereafter.

Resolutions 4 and 5 were not acted upon or discussed for want of time.

At a late hour in the evening the Society adjourned *sine die* and its members and friends separated gratified and grateful for the pleasant and profitable opportunity they had enjoyed for communion with each other and labor for their common cause.

The meetings were well attended throughout, and during both evenings the large Hall was crowded to overflowing with an audience whose interest in the discussion was manifested by a quiet and continued attention until the hour of adjournment.

C. M. BURLEIGH, *Secretary pro tem.*

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

Resolved, That while we gratefully acknowledge and rejoice at the wide-spread influence of our views and principles, as evinced in the general tone of the Northern political press, and the professions of the political parties, we still feel deeply impressed with the necessity and importance of continuing to operate upon the public mind by means of the Press and the voice of the living speaker—well knowing that for all the Anti-Slavery action we have witnessed in either of the parties, we are indebted wholly to the earnest and fearless proclamation of radical Anti-Slavery *truth*.

2. *Resolved*, That we hail with sincere gratification the recent cheering intelligence of the adoption of a Constitution by the people of California, in which Slavery is forever prohibited.

3 *Resolved*, That there is ample power under the Constitution of the United States to work the overthrow of Slavery, and that while we should unhesitatingly prefer a dissolution of the Union to the continuance of the slave system, we see no necessity for a resort to this dire alternative, but firmly believe that Slavery will be finally abolished by the co-operation of the friends of Freedom both North and South.

4. *Resolved*, That we regard the institution of American Slavery as belonging in its origin to the most barbarous ages, —a relic of the most abominable form of war; (and that whatever hopes and aspirations we may indulge in reference to the bettering of our social, political and religious condition aside from the Anti-Slavery platform of action) we hold and believe that through the instrumentality of the United States Government and the American Church that Slavery in this country will be overthrown.

5. *Resolved*, That recognizing the duty to withdraw all voluntary support from the slave system, to maintain personal purity and consistency, and to neglect no opportunity to press the Anti-Slavery question upon the hearts of people, we earnestly recommend to all Abolitionists to abstain from the products of Slave Labor, and prefer the products of Free Labor, so far as is practicable.

6 *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the slaveholder has no right to keep his slaves in bondage, and therefore that the slave has a right to escape to freedom if he can, and we have consequently no right to hinder him from doing so, or to help retake and re-enslave him; and as we have no right to make promises which cannot rightfully be kept, or laws which cannot rightfully be obeyed, it follows that the provision of the American Constitution which requires the giving up of the runaway to his master ought never to have been adopted, and ought not now to be obeyed; nor have we any right to promise obedience to it.

7 *Resolved*, Therefore, that we hereby repeat the announcement of our fixed purpose never to aid in the recapture and re-enslavement of the escaping bondman, nor to promise support or obedience to the Constitution while it contains the provision alluded to; but will always, to the best of our ability, as opportunity offers, help the fugitive to gain and keep that priceless blessing which he seeks and to which he has an inalienable birthright.

8 *Resolved*, That we have no right to aid or promise to aid in putting down by bloody violence an insurrection of the slaves for freedom; because if it be *right* to fight in defense of our most sacred and precious rights, the slaves would be right in such an insurrection, and of course to fight against them would be wrong; but if, on the other hand, it be *wrong* to fight in defense of our own rights, still more must it be wrong to fight against the no less sacred and precious rights of our fellow-men.

9. *Resolved*, Therefore, that while the Constitution requires us to go, at the bidding of any slave State, and suppress by force an effort of the slaves to win liberty by violence, we have no right to promise and will not promise support and obedience to that Constitution.

10. *Resolved*, That as we have no right to grant peculiar privileges to evil-doers on account of their evil-doing, and in proportion to its extent, we can of rightfully invest the slaveholder with political power in proportion to the number of their slaves; and therefore we cannot rightfully sustain, or promise to sustain, the Constitution while it gives the slave States a representation in Congress for three-fifths of the slaves.

11. *Resolved*, That if each individual is morally bound to refuse his help to the recapture of runaways from Slavery, and to the forcible suppression of slave insurrections for freedom, and to the giving of political power to slave States on account of their slaves, then the whole community, made up of these individuals, is equally bound to take the same position.

12. *Resolved*, That to take this position is to renounce allegiance to the Constitution; to withdraw from the present existing American Union; and practically to adopt the motto, No Union with Slaveholders.

General Intelligence.

EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Letter from Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, to Mr. Clingman of North Carolina.

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1849.

SIR—Being casually informed of your recent arrival in this city, I seize the opportunity of inviting your attention to a subject of high importance to the whole country, and of especial concern to the Southern States of the confederacy—one of which you have the honor to represent in the councils of the nation. The session of Congress is almost at hand and indications are abroad, and every moment multiplying, which seem to render it quite probable that the Wilmot Proviso, and the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, will be again brought forward, either in the Senate or House of Representatives, and supported by the zealous and unscrupulous advocates of these two mischievous measures with increased violence and confirmed pertinacity. It is most evident to me that the Union itself will be put in serious jeopardy by the movements thus menaced, as I hold it to be certain that no State of the South will patiently acquiesce in either of the aggressions alluded to. I regret to perceive that there is an erroneous impression widely prevalent in the North, that the South is neither in earnest nor united in any scheme of opposition and resistance to the insulting encroachments now so fiercely threatened. If this impression is permitted to remain uncorrected until either of the meditated outrages referred to shall have been perpetrated, it is to be feared that it will be too late to save the republic from consequences too dreadful to be contemplated without a feeling of patriotic solicitude and alarm: whereas, it is my firm conviction that, if the sober, thinking men of the free States could once ascertain the danger that demagogues and fanatical agitators are fast bringing upon them and their unoffending brethren of the South, by the advocacy of schemes of injustice and oppression, which cannot possibly result in practical benefit to any section or State of the confederacy, they would rise up, without further delay, and say to the agents of sedition, who have heretofore sported with their credulity and abused their confidence, that the period has at length arrived when they will not longer permit them, in their name, to trample the sacred provisions of the constitution under foot, and enthrall the Legislative councils of the nation in unseemly and wicked controversy. Taking this view of the matter, and knowing that you have had an opportunity of conferring freely, during the past summer, with your fellow-citizens of North Carolina, I venture to lay before you the resolutions recently adopted by the Southern Convention of the State of Mississippi, and call upon you to say whether or not you approve them, and whether they are, in your opinion, approved in the State of North Carolina, and the South generally. Being a prominent member of the Whig party, you will doubtless feel authorized to speak, in language too explicit to be misunderstood, as to the probable action of your political associates in the South, should the present sectional contest be pushed to extremities. In the convention of Mississippi, you will observe, both the two great political parties of the country were equally represented; the resolutions, unanimously adopted by that body, may be therefore regarded as declarative of the views and feelings of the whole State. However it may possibly be elsewhere, I can assure you, most confidently, that the people of Mississippi look upon the Slavery question, in its existing aspects, as above party. I am well satisfied that this is the condition of things generally in the South; and I hope that you will feel justified in expressing a concurrent opinion.

I had the honor of addressing, a few days since, inquiries similar to those now propounded to you, to your distinguished colleague, the Hon. Willie P. Mangum, who proposes, so soon as the physical indisposition with which he is at present afflicted will permit, to declare his views upon the whole subject, in a somewhat extended form. I am gratified to know, and to be specially authorized to state, that he fully and warmly approves the proceedings of our Mississippi Convention, as was certainly to be expected from one always ready heretofore, as he has been, to defend the honor and safety of the South against aggressions, either actual or meditated, from whatever quarter they might emanate.

I have the honor to be, very cordially and respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

H. S. FOOTE.

Hon. THOMAS L. CLINGMAN.

Reply of Mr. Clingman to Mr. Foote.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Nov. 13, 1849.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 10th instant has been received, in which you ask my own views, as well as my opinion as to what will be the course of the South in either of the contingencies referred to. Your position as a representative of one of the States, and the consideration due you personally, merit alike a prompt reply.

Having on former occasions given my views in detail with reference to the whole subject, it is not necessary for me to do so at this time. I proceed, therefore, to give you simply the general results of my reflections.

The Federal Government, because it is the government of the United States, is the trustee and agent for all the States and their citizens. Every power, therefore, which it can rightfully exercise, it must of necessity exercise for the benefit of all parties to it. The territory of the United States, being the common property, the Government is bound to administer it as far as practicable for the benefit of all the States, as well as their citizens. A difference, however, exists among them in relation to the institution of Slavery. When the Constitution was formed, twelve of the thirteen States were slaveholding. That instrument, though it has clauses expressly inserted for the protection of the rights and interests of slaveholders, contains no provision for the abolition of Slavery anywhere. If the Government, therefore, can properly exercise such a power in any instance, it must be because its duties as a general agent, acting so as to meet the interest and views of its principals, require it. But fifteen of the thirty States of the Union still maintain the institution of Slavery. It is obvious, therefore, that the Government could not, consistently with its powers as a general agent, exclude the slaveholders as a class from all participation in the enjoyment of the territory of the United States. It is, on the contrary, under solemn obligations to respect the rights of all. It has always heretofore, as I understand its action, shown a sense of this obligation. When the much-talked of ordinance was adopted, by which the territory north of the Ohio river was made free, all that portion of the country south of the river to the Gulf of Mexico was left to be occupied by slaveholders. When Slavery was abolished in the northern part of the Louisiana territory, the southern portion, regarded as the most suitable for slaveholders, was left to be so occupied. On the annexation of Texas, when a provision against Slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min. was incorporated, much the larger and more valuable portion was still left for the use of slaveholders.

But it is now proposed to adopt the policy of excluding slaveholders, as such, from all the territory of the United States. This would be an entire revolution in the action of the Government—a revolution which could not occur without a total violation of the spirit and essence of the Constitution. Since those citizens who do not own slaves are permitted to occupy every part of the territory of the Union, it has been doubted by many whether the Government can rightfully exclude slaveholders from any portion of the common property. But even if there should be a power to divide the public territory, for convenience, between the two classes, it is perfectly clear that there can be no right to exclude one class entirely. I have therefore said that I should regard such an exclusion as being as great a violation of the Constitution as the Government could possibly commit. But even if this action should be viewed simply as an enormous abuse of power, it would be not the less objectionable. The Government has unlimited powers in relation to the establishment of Post Offices throughout the Union. If, however, it were to withdraw all the Post Offices from the slaveholding States, on the ground that the citizens of those States were not worthy of the countenance and aid of the Government, we should have as much reason to complain of such action as if it involved a clear infraction of the letter of the Constitution.

In a word, if the Government should adopt the policy of excluding slaveholders, as such, from all the territory of the United States, it would, in substance and effect, cease to be the Government of the United States. While the form of the Constitution might remain the same, its character would be essentially changed.

Ought the Southern States to acquiesce in this great organic change in our political system? Ought they to remain members of an association which had, in utter disregard of plain constitutional guaranties, degraded them from their position of equality? As history furnishes no record of any people who have prospered after they had forfeited their self-respect, by submitting to be degraded to a state of political vassalage, I hold it to be the duty of the Southern States to resist this change. That resistance, to be effectual, should be commensurate with the violence of the attack. This they owe to the cause of constitutional liberty, to justice, and to their own honor.

With reference to the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, I will simply say, that waiving all controversy in relation to constitutional right, and obligation to the adjoining States, if such an event were to occur at this time, it would not take place in obedience to the wishes of the citizens of the District, but would be brought about at the instance of the inhabitants of the States. But these persons have no right to control the local affairs of this District. Should Congress, therefore, thus act at their instigation, it would be guilty of an act of tyranny, so insulting and so gross as to justify a withdrawal of confidence from such a Government.

You ask, in the second place, what I believe likely to be the course of the South, should such a contingency occur? There was but one of the States, having any considerable number of slaves, in relation to which I had any doubts. From her frontier position, and the powerful influences brought to bear on her, I had some fears as to what might be the action of Kentucky. But I have been gratified beyond expression by the gallant stand which that noble State has recently taken. She has thereby shown that she will not

Poetry.

AUTUMN.

BY THOMAS HOOD.

I saw old Autumn in the misty morn
Stand shadowless, like Silence, listening
To silence, for no lonely bird would sing
Into his hollow ear from woods forlorn,
Nor lowly hedge nor solitary thorn:—
Shaking his languid locks all dewy bright
With tangled gossamer that fell by night,
Pearling his coronet of golden corn.

Where are the songs of Summer? With the sun,
Opening the dusky eyelids of the South
Till shade and silence waken up as one,
And Morning sings with a warm odorous mouth,
Where are the merry birds? Away, away,
On panting wings through the inclement skies,
Lest owls should prey
Undazzled at noon-day
And tear with horny beak their lustrous eyes.

Where are the blooms of Summer? In the West,
Blushing their last to the last sunny hours,
Where the mild eve by sunny night is prest,
Like tearful Prosperine, snatched from her flowers
To a most gloomy breast.
Where is the pride of Summer—the green prime—
The many, many leaves all twinkling? Three
On the mossed elm; three on the naked lime,
Trembling—and one upon the old oak tree!
Where is the Dryad's immortality?
Gone into mournful cypress and dark yew,
Or wearing the long gloomy winter through,
In the smooth holly's green eternity.

The squirrel gloats on his accomplished hoard,
The ants have brimmed their garner with ripe grain,
And honey-bees have stored
The sweets of Summer in their luscious cells;
The swallows all have winged across the main:
But here the Autumn melancholy dwells,
And sighs her tearful spells,
Among the sunless shadows of the plain.
Alone, alone,
Upon a mossy stone,
She sits and reckons up the dead and gone,
With the last leaves of a love rosary:
Whilst all the withered world looks drearily,
Like a dim picture of the drowned past
In the hushed mind's mysterious far-away
Doubtful what ghostly things will steal the last,
Into that distance, gray upon the gray.

O, go and sit with her, and be o'ershaded
Under the languid downfall of her hair;
She wears a coronal of flowers faded
Upon her forehead, and a face of care;—
There is enough of withered everywhere
To make her bower—and enough of gloom;
There is enough of sadness to invite,
If only for the rose that died—whose doom
Is Beauty—she that with the living bloom
Of conscious cheeks most beautifies the light;
There is enough of sorrowing, and quite
Enough of bitter fruits the earth doth bear—
Enough of chilly droppings for her bowl;
Enough of fear and shadowy despair,
To frame her cloudy prison for the soul!

MAN'S LIFE.

BY HOLY GEORGE HERBERT—XVTH CENTURY.

How soon doth man decay!
When clothes are taken to a chest of sweets
To swaddle infants, whose young breath
Scarce knows the way;
They are like little winding sheets,
Which do confine and send them unto death.

When boys first go to bed,
They step into their voluntary graves;
Sleep binds them fast; only their breath
Makes them not dead;
Successive nights, like rolling waves,
Convey them quickly, who are bound for death.

When youth is frank and free,
And calls for music, while his veins do swell,
All day exchanging mirth and breath
In company
That music summons to the knell,
Which shall befriend him at the house of death.

When man grows staid and wise,
Getting a house and home where he may move
Within the circle of his breath,
Schooling his eyes;
That dumb enclosure maketh love
Unto the coffin, that attends his death.

When age grows low and weak,
Marking his grave, and thawing every year,
Till all do melt and drown his breath
When he would speak;
A chair or litter shows the bier,
Which shall convey him to the house of death.

Man, ere he is aware,
Hath put together a solemnity,
And dressed his hearse, while he has breath,
As yet to spare,
Yet, Lord, instruct us so to die,
That all these dyings may be life in death!

THE WORTH OF HOURS.

BY R. M. MILNES.

Believe not that your inner eye
Can in just measure try
The worth of Hours as they go by;

For every man's weak self, alas!
Makes him to see them, while they pass,
As through a dim or tinted glass.

But if in earnest care you would
Mete out to each its part of good,
Trust rather to your after-mood.

Those surely are not fairly spent,
That leave your spirit bowed and bent
In sad unrest and ill-content;

And more; though, free from seeming harm,
You rest from toil of mind or arm,
Or slow retire from Pleasure's charm;

If then a painful sense comes on
Of something wholly lost and gone,
Vainly enjoyed, or vainly done;

Of something from your being's chain
Broke off, nor to be linked again
By all mere Memory can retain;

Upon your heart this truth may rise:
Nothing that altogether dies
Suffices Man's just destinies.

So should we live, that every hour
May die, as dies the natural flower,
A self-reviving thing of power;

That every thought and every deed
May hold within itself the seed
Of future good and future meed;

Esteeming Sorrow, whose employ
Is to develope, not destroy,
Far better than a barren joy.

Miscellany.

The following letter from Ivan Alexiowitz to his friend Hector St. John, describing a visit to John Bartram, in 1769, gives a pleasing picture of the life and manners of that celebrated botanist. The letter is extracted from Doctor Darlington's recent work, "Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall."

—Examine this flourishing province, in whatever light you will, the eyes as well as the mind of a European traveller are equally delighted; because a diffusive happiness appears in every part,—happiness which is established on the broadest basis. The wisdom of Lycurgus and Solon never conferred on man one half of the blessings and uninterrupted prosperity which the Pennsylvanians now possess. The name of Penn, that simple but illustrious citizen, does more honor to the English nation than those of many of their kings.

In order to convince you that I have not bestowed undeserved praises in my former letters on this celebrated government, and that either nature or the climate seems to be more favorable here to the arts and sciencies than to any other American province,—let us together, agreeably to your desire, pay a visit to Mr. John Bertram, (*Bartram*) the first botanist of this new hemisphere, become such by a native impulse of disposition. It is to this simple man that America is indebted for several discoveries, and the knowledge of many new plants. I had been greatly prepossessed in his favor by the extensive correspondence which I knew he held with the most eminent Scotch and French botanists: I knew also that he had been honored with that of Queen Ulrica of Sweden.

His house is small but decent; there was something peculiar in its first appearance, which seemed to distinguish it from those of his neighbors: a small tower in the middle of it, not only helped to strengthen it, but afforded convenient room for a staircase. Every disposition of the fields, fences, and trees, seemed to bear the marks of perfect order and regularity,—which in rural affairs, always indicate a prosperous industry.

I was received at the door by a woman, dressed extremely neat and simple, who, without courtesying, or any other ceremonial, asked me with an air of benignity, who I wanted? I answered, "I should be glad to see Mr. Bertram." "If thee wilt step in and take a chair, I will send for him." "No," I said, "I had rather have the pleasure of walking through his farm; I shall easily find him out, with your directions." After a little time I perceived the Schuylkill, winding through delightful meadows, and soon cast my eyes on a new made bank, which seemed greatly to confine its stream. After having walked on its top a considerable way, I at last reached the place where ten men were at work. I asked if any of them could tell me where Mr. Bertram was? An elderly looking man, with wide trousers and a large leather apron on, looking at me said.—"My name is Bertram—dost thee want me?" "Sir, I am come on purpose to converse with you, if you can be spared from your labor." "Very easily," he answered; "I direct and advise more than I work." We walked toward the house, where he made me take a chair while he went to put on clean clothes; after which he returned and sat down by me. "The fame of your knowledge," said I, "in American botany—and your well-known hospitality—have induced me to pay you a visit, which I hope you will not think troublesome. I should be glad to spend a few hours in your garden." "The greatest advantage," replied he, "which I receive from what thee calls my botanical fame, is the pleasure which it often procureth me in receiving the visits of friends and foreigners. But our jaunt into the garden must be postponed for the present, as the bell is ringing for dinner." We entered into a large hall, where there was a long table full of victuals; at the lowest part sat his negroes, his hired men were next, then the family and myself: and at the head the venerable father and his wife presided. Each reclined his head and said his prayers, divested of the tedious cant of some, and of the ostentatious style of others. "After the luxuries of our cities" observed he "this plain fair must appear to thee a severe fast." "By no means, Mr. Bertram; this honest country dinner convinces me that you receive me as a friend and an old acquaintance." "I am glad of it for thee art heartily welcome. I never knew how to use ceremonies: they are insufficient proofs of sincerity; our Society, besides, are utterly strangers to what the world calleth polite expressions. We treat others as we treat ourselves. I received yesterday a letter from Philadelphia, by which I understand thee art a Russian: what motives can possibly have induced thee to quit thy native country, and to come so far in quest of knowledge or pleasure? Verily it is a great compliment thee payest to this our young province, to think that anything it exhibiteth may be worthy thy attention." "I have been most amply repaid for the trouble of the passage. I view the present Americans as the seed of future nations, which will replenish this boundless continent. The Russians may in some respects be compared to you; we, likewise, are a new people,—new, I mean, in knowledge, arts, and improvements. Who knows what revolutions Russia and America may one day bring about! We are, perhaps nearer neighbors than we imagine. I view with peculiar attention, all your towns,—I examine their situation, and the police,—for which many are already famous. Though their foundations are now so recent, and so well remembered,—yet their origin will puzzle posterity as much as we are now puzzled to ascertain the beginning of those which time has in some measure destroyed. Your new buildings, your streets, put me in mind of *Pompeii*: where I was a few years ago; I attentively examined every thing, there, particularly the foot-path which runs along the houses. They appeared to have been considerably worn by the great number of people, which had once travelled over them. But now, how distant! neither builders nor proprietors remain: nothing is known!"

"Why, thee hast been a great traveller, for a man of thy years." "Few years, sir, will enable any body to journey over a great-tract of country; but it requires a superior degree of knowledge to gather harvests as we go. Pray, Mr. Bertram, what banks are those which you are making; to what purpose is so much expense and so much labor bestowed?" "Friend Ivan, no branch of industry was ever more profitable to any country, as well as to the proprietors. The Schuylkill in its many windings once covered a great extent of ground, though its waters were but shallow even in our highest tides, and though some parts were always dry, yet the whole of this great tract presented to the eye nothing but a putrid swampy soil, useless, either for the plough or for the scythe. The proprietors of these grounds are now incorporated: we yearly pay to the treasury of the company a certain sum which makes an aggregate superior to the causalties that generally happen, either by inundation or the musksquash.* It is owing to this happy contrivance that so many thousand acres of meadow have been rescued from the Schuylkill and Delaware which now both enricheth and embellisheth so much of the neighborhood of our city. Our brethren of Salem, in New Jersey, have carried the art of banking to a still higher degree of perfection." "It is really an admirable contrivance, which greatly redounds to the honor of the parties concerned, and shows a spirit of discernment and perseverance which is highly praise-worthy; if the Virginians would imitate your example, the state of their husbandry would greatly improve; I have not heard of any such association in any other part of the Continent; Pennsylvania, hitherto, seems to reign the unrivalled queen of these fair provinces. Pray, sir, what expense are you at, ere these grounds are fit for the scythe?" "The expenses are very considerable, particularly when we have land, brooks, trees, and brush to clear away; but such is the excellence of these bottoms, and the goodness of the grass for fattening cattle, that the produce of three years pays all advances." "Happy the country where nature has bestowed such rich treasures! Treasures superior to mines," I said, "If all this fair province is thus cultivated, no wonder it has acquired such reputation for the prosperity and the industry of its inhabitants." By this time the working part of the family had finished their dinner, and retired with a decency and silence which pleased me much. Soon after I heard, as I thought, a distant concert of instruments. "However simple and pastoral your fare was Mr. Bertram, this is the dessert of a prince; pray, what is this I hear?" "Thee must not be alarmed; it is of a piece with the rest of thy treatment, friend Ivan." Anxious I followed the sound, and by ascending the stair-case, found that it was the effect of the wind through the strings of an Æolian harp, an instrument which I had never before seen. After dinner we quaffed an honest bottle of Madeira wine, without the irksome labor of toasts, healths, or sentiments; and then retired into his study.

I was no sooner entered than I observed a coat-of-arms, in a gilt frame, with the name of John Bertram. The novelty of such a decoration in such a place struck me; I could not avoid asking, "Does the Society of Friends take any pride in these armorial bearings, which sometimes serve as marks of distinction between families, and much oftener as food for pride and ostentation?" "Thee must know," said he, "That my father was a Frenchman;* he brought this piece of painting over with him. I keep it as a piece of family furniture, and as a memorial of his removal thither!"

From his study we went into the garden, which contained a great variety of curious plants and shrubs; some grew in a green-house, over the door of which was written these lines:—

"Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
But looks through nature up to nature's God."

He informed me that he had often followed General Bouquet to Pittsburg, with a view of herberising, that he had made useful collections in Virginia; and that he had been employed by the King of England to visit the two Floridas.

Our walk and botanical observations engrossed so much time that the sun was almost down ere I thought of returning to Philadelphia; I regretted that the day had been so short, as I had not spent so rational a one for a long time before. "I wanted to stay, yet was doubtful whether it would not appear improper, being an utter stranger. Knowing, however, that I was visiting the least ceremonious people in the world, I bluntly informed him of the pleasure I had enjoyed, and with the desire I had of staying a few days with him. "Thee art welcome as if I were thy father; thee art no stranger; thy desire of knowledge, thy being a foreigner, besides, entitleth thee to consider my house as thine own as long as thee pleaseth; use thy time with the most perfect freedom; I too, shall do so myself." I thankfully accepted the kind invitation.

We went to view his favorite bank; he showed me the principles and method on which it was erected; and we walked over the ground that had been already drained. The whole store of Nature's kind luxuriance seemed to have been exhausted on these beautiful meadows; he made me count the amazing number of cattle and horses now feeding on solid bottoms, which but a few years before had been covered with water. Thence we rambled through his fields, where the rightangular fences, the heaps of pitched stones, the flourishing clover, announced the best husbandry, as well as the most assiduous attention. His cows were then returning home deep-bellied, short-legged; having udders ready to burst; seeking, with seeming toil, to be delivered from the great exuberance they contained. He next showed me his orchard, formerly planted on a barren sandy soil, but long since converted into one of the richest spots in that vicinage. "This, said he, is altogether the fruit of my own contrivance. I purchased, some years ago, the privilege of a small spring, about a mile and a half from hence, and which at a considerable expense I have brought to this reservoir; therein I throw old lime, ashes, horse-dung, &c., and twice a week I let it run, thus impregnated. I regularly spread on this ground in the fall, old hay, straw, and whatever damaged fodder I have about my barn. By these simple means I mow, one year with another, fifty-three hundred of excellent hay per acre, from a soil that scarcely produced five fingers [i. e. *cinque foil or Potentilla Canadensis L.*] some years before." "This is, sir, a miracle in husbandry; happy the country which is cultivated by a society of men whose application and taste lead them to prosecute and accomplish useful works. "I am not the only person who do these things, he said; whatever water can be had, it is always turned to that important use; wherever a farmer can water his meadows, the greatest crops of the best hay, and excellent after-grass, are the sure rewards of his labors. With the banks of my meadow ditches, I have greatly enriched my upland fields; those which I intend to rest for a few years, I constantly sow with red clover, which is the greatest meliorator of our lands. For three years after they yield abundant pasture; when I break up my clover fields, I give them a good coat of mud, which hath been exposed to the severities of three or four of our winters. This is the reason that I commonly reap from twenty-eight to thirty-six bushels of wheat an acre; my flax, oats, and Indian corn I raise in the same proportion. Wouldst thee inform me whether the inhabitants of thy country, follow the same methods of husbandry?" "No Sir; in the neighborhood of our towns there are indeed some intelligent farmers, who prosecute their rural schemes with attention, but we should be too numerous, too happy, too powerful a people if it were possible for the whole Russian empire to be cultivated like the province of Pennsylvania. Our lands are unequally divided, and so few of our farmers are possessors of the soil they till, that they cannot execute plans of husbandry with the same vigor that you do, who hold yours, as it were, from the master of nature unincumbered and free. Oh! America!" I exclaimed, "thou knowest not, as yet, the whole extent of thy happiness; the foundations of thy civil polity must lead thee in a few years, to a degree of population and power which Europe little thinks of!". "Long before this happens," answered the good man, "we shall rest beneath the turf; it is vain for mortals to be presumptuous in their conjectures; our country is, no doubt, the cradle of an extensive future population; the old world is growing weary of its inhabitants; they must come here to flee from the tyranny of the great. But doth not thee imagine that the great will, in the course of years, come over here also? for it is the misfortune of all societies everywhere to hear of great men, great rulers, and great tyrants." "My dear sir," I replied, "tyranny can never take a strong hold in this country, the land is too wisely distributed; it is poverty in Europe that makes slaves." "Friend Ivan, as I make no doubt thee understandest the Latin tougue, read this kind epistle which the good Queen of Sweden, Ulrica, sent me a few years ago. Good woman! that she should think in her palace at Stockholm, of poor John Bertram on the banks of the Schuylkill, appeareth to me very strange." "Not in the least, dear sir; you are the first man whose name as a botanist hath done honor to America; it is very natural at the same time to imagine that so extensive a continent must contain many curious plants and trees; is it then surprising to see a princess fond of useful knowledge, descend sometimes from the throne, to walk in the garden of Linnæus?" "'Tis to the directions of that learned man, said Mr. Bertram, that I am indebted for the method which has led me to the knowledge I now possesss; the science of botany is so diffusive, that a proper thread is absolutely wanted to conduct the beginner." "Pray, Mr. Bertram, when did you imbibe the first wish to cultivate the science of botany? was you regularly bred to it in Philadelphia?" "I have never received any other education than barely reading and writing; this small farm was all the patrimony my father left me; certain debts, and the want of meadows, kept me rather low in the beginning of my life; my wife brought me nothing in money; all her riches consisted in her good temper, and great knowledge of housewifery. I scarcely know how to trace my steps in the botanical career; they appear to me, now, like unto a dream; but thee mayst rely on what I shall relate, though I know that some of our friends have laughed at it." "I am not one of those people, Mr. Bertram, who aim at finding out the ridiculous in what is sincerely and honestly averred." "Well then, I'll tell thee. One day I was very busy in holding my plough (for thee seest I am but a ploughman) and being weary, I ran under the shade of a tree to repose myself. I cast my eyes on a daisy; I plucked it mechanically; and viewed it with more curiosity than common country farmers are wont to do, and observed therein very many distinct parts, some perpendicular—some horizontal. *What a shame, said my mind, or something that inspired my mind that thee shouldst have employed so many years in tilling the earth, and destroying so many flowers and plants, without being acquainted with their structures and their uses!* This seeming inspiration suddenly awakened my curiosity, for these were not thoughts to which I had been accustomed. I returned to my team, but this new desire did not quit my mind; I mentioned it to my wife, who greatly discouraged me from prosecuting my new scheme; as she called it; I was not opulent enough, she said, to dedicate much of my time to studies and labors which might rob me of that portion of it, which is the only wealth of the American farmer. However her prudent caution did not discourage me; I thought about it continually,—at supper, ——."

* Musquash, the Indian name of the muskrat.

* Evidently a misapprehension of the Russian gentleman. J. B. no doubt had reference to his remote ancestor, the Norman "Frenchman," who came with the Conqueror and settled in the north of England.

in bed, and wherever I went. At last I could not resist the impulse; for on the fourth day of the following week, I hired a man to plough for me, and went to Philadelphia. Though I knew not what book to call for, I ingenuously told the bookseller my errand, who provided me with such as he thought best, and a Latin grammar beside. Next I applied to a neighboring schoolmaster, who, in three months, taught me Latin enough to understand Linnæus, which I purchased afterward. Then I began to botanize all over my farm. In a little time I became acquainted with every vegetable that grew in my neighborhood; and next ventured into Maryland, living among the Friends. In proportion as I thought myself more learned, I proceeded further, and by a steady application of several years, I have acquired a pretty general knowledge of every plant and tree to be found in our continent. In process of time I was applied to from the old countries, whither I every year send many collections. Being now made easy in my circumstances, I have ceased to labor, and am never so happy as when I see and converse with my friends. If among the many plants or shrubs I am acquainted with, there are any thee wantest to send to thy native country, I will cheerfully procure them; and give thee moreover, whatever directions thou mayest want."

Thus I passed several days, in ease, improvement, and pleasure. I observed, in all the operations of his farm—as well as in the mutual correspondence between the master and the inferior members of his family—the greatest ease and decorum; not a word like command seemed to exceed the tone of a simple wish. The very negroes, themselves, appeared to partake of such a decency of behaviour and modesty of countenance, as I had never before observed. "By what means" said I, "Mr. Bertram, do you rule your slaves so well, that they seem to do their work with all the cheerfulness of white men?" "Though our erroneous prejudices and opinions once induced us to look upon them as fit only for Slavery; though ancient custom had very unfortunately taught us to keep them in bondage,—yet of late, in consequence of the remonstrances of several Friends, and of the good books they have published on that subject, our Society treats them very differently. With us they are now free. I give those whom thee didst see at my table, eighteen pounds a year, with victuals and clothes, and all other privileges which white men enjoy. Our Society treats them, now, as the companions of our labors; and by this management, as well as by means of the education we have given them, they are, in general, become a new set of beings. Those whom I admit to my table, I have found to be good, trusty, moral men; when they do not what we think they should do, we dismiss them, which is all the punishment we inflict. Other Societies of Christians keep them still as slaves, without teaching them any kind of religious principles. What motive, beside fear, can they have to behave well? In the first settlement of this province, we employed them as slaves, I acknowledge; but when we found that good example, gentle admonition, and religious principle could lead them to subordination and sobriety, we relinquished a method so contrary to the profession of Christianity! We gave them freedom; and yet few have quitted their ancient masters.

* * * *

I taught mine to read and to write; they love God, and fear his judgments. The oldest person among them transacts my business in Philadelphia, with a punctuality from which he has never deviated. They constantly attend our meetings: they participate in—in health and sickness, in infancy and old age—the advantages our Society affords. Such are the means we have made use of, to relieve them from that bondage and ignorance in which they were kept before. Thee perhaps, hast been surprised to see them at my table; but by elevating them to the rank of free men, they necessarily acquire that emulation, without which we ourselves should fall into debasement and profligate vice."

"Mr. Bertram, this is the most philosophical treatment of negroes that I have heard of. Happy would it be for America, would other denominations of Christians imbibe the same principles and follow the same admirable rules. A great number of men would be relieved from those cruel shackles under which they now groan: and under this impression, I cannot endure to spend more time in the Southern provinces. The method with which they are treated there,—the meanness of their food—the severity of their tasks,—are spectacles I have not patience to behold." "I am glad to see thou hast so much compassion. Are there any slaves in thy county?" Yes, unfortunately; but they are more properly, civil than domestic slaves. They are attached to the soil on which they live; it is the remains of ancient barbarous customs, established in the days of the greatest ignorance and savageness of manners! and preserved, notwithstanding the repeated tears of humanity—the loud calls of policy—and the commands of religion. The pride of great men, with the avarice of landholders makes them look on this class as necessary tools of husbandry; as if freemen could not cultivate the ground!" "And is it really so, friend Ivan? To be poor, to be wretched, to be a slave, is hard indeed; existence is not worth enjoying on those terms. I am afraid thy country can never prosper under such impolitic government." "I am very much of your opinion, Mr. Bertram, though I am in hopes that the present reign, illustrious by so many acts of the soundest policy, will not expire without this salutary—this necessary emancipation, which would fill the Russian Empire with tears of gratitude." "How long hast thee been in this country?" "Four years sir." "Why, thee speakest English almost like a native. What a toil a traveller must undergo, to learn various languages—to divest himself of his native prejudices—and to accommodate himself to the customs of all those among whom he choseth to reside."

Thus I spent my time with this enlightened botanist—this worthy citizen, who united all the simplicity of rustic manners to the most useful learning. Various and extensive were the conversations that filled the measure of my visit. I accompanied him to his fields, to his barn, to his bank, to his garden, to his study, and at last to the meeting of the Society, on the Sunday following. It was at the town of Chester, whither the whole family went, in two wagons; Mr. Bertram and I on horseback.—When I entered the house where the Friends were assembled, who might be about two hundred, men and women, the involuntary impulse of ancient custom made me pull off my hat; but soon recovering myself, I sat with it on, at the end of a bench. The meeting-house was a square building, devoid of any ornament whatever. The whiteness of the walls—the conveniency of the seats—that of a large stove, which in cold weather keeps the whole house warm, were the only essential which I observed. Neither pulpit nor desk, fount nor altar, tabernacle nor organ, were there to be seen; it is merely a spacious room, in which these good people meet every Sunday. A profound silence ensued, which lasted about half an hour; every one had his head reclined, and seemed absorbed in profound meditation,—when a female Friend arose, and declared with the most engaging modesty, that the Spirit moved her to entertain them on the subject she had chosen. She delivered it without theological parade, or the ostentation of learning. Either she must have been a great adept in public speaking, or had studiously prepared herself; a circumstance that cannot well be supposed, as it is a point, in their profession, to utter nothing but what arises from a spontaneous impulse; or else the Great Spirit of the world—the patronage and influence of which they all came to invoke—must have inspired her with the soundest morality. Her discourse lasted three quarters of an hour. I did not observe one single face turned toward her: never before had I seen a congregation listening with so much attention to a public oration. I observed neither contortions of body, nor any kind of affectation in her face, style, or manner of utterance; everything was natural, and therefore pleasing, and, shall I tell you more? she was very handsome, although upward of forty. As soon as she had finished, every one seemed to return to their former meditation for about a quarter of an hour, when they rose up by common consent, and, after some general conversation, departed.

How simple their precepts—how unadorned their religious system, how few their ceremonies through which they pass during the course of their lives! At their deaths they are interred by the fraternity, without pomp, without prayers,—thinking it then too late to alter the course of God's eternal decrees; and, as you well know, without either monument or tomb-stone. Thus, after having lived under the mildest government, after having been guided by the mildest doctrine, they die just as peaceably as those who, being educated in more pompous religions, pass through a variety of sacraments, subscribe to complicated creeds, and enjoy the benefits of a church establishment. These good people flatter themselves with following the doctrines of Jesus Christ, in that simplicity with which they were delivered. A happier system could not have been devised for the use of mankind. It appears to be entirely free from those ornaments and political additions which each country and each government hath fashioned after its own manners.

At the door of this meeting-house I had been invited to spend some days at the houses of some respectable farmers in the neighborhood. The reception I met with everywhere, insensibly led me to spend two months among these good people; and I must say they were the golden days of my riper years. I shall never forget the gratitude I owe them for the innumerable kindnesses they heaped on me; it was to the letter you gave me, that I am indebted for the extensive acquaintance I now have throughout Pennsylvania. I must defer thanking you as I ought, until I see you again. Before that time comes, I may perhaps entertain you with more curious anecdotes than this letter affords. Farewell.

IWAN ALEXIOWITZ.

The following stanzas, which we have received from a correspondent, refers to the doctrine of the English common law, expounded by Justice Buller, that a husband, in case of refractory behaviour, may give his wife moderate correction, with the crabstick or any other instrument proper for the purpose. The verses have never appeared in print in this country, and perhaps not at all. They are by John Hughes, Esq., of Downington Priory, in Bucks County, England, known as the author of "Provence and the Rhone" and the "Boscobel Tracts."—*Evening Post.*

THE CRABSTOCK.

Through Britain's isle as Hymen stray'd
Upon his ambling poney,
With Buller sage, in wig array'd
His legal cicerone,
To them full many a spouse forlorn,
Complain'd of guineas squander'd,
Of visage torn, and breeches worn,
And thus his godship ponder'd,
"O, the Crabstock!
The green immortal Crabstock!
I'll ensure a lasting cure,
In Britain's native Crabstock!"

With magic wand he struck the earth,
And straight his incantation
Gave, that same wholesome sapling broth,
The husband's consolation:
"Dispense," quoth he, "thou legal man,
"This new discovered treasure,
"And let thy thumb's capacious span,
"Henceforward, fix its measure."
O, the Crabstock,
The green immortal Crabstock!
Long essay'd on jilt and jade,
Be Buller's magic Crabstock!

The olive-branch Minerva's boon,
Betokens peace and quiet,
But 'tis sage Hymen's gift alone
Can quash domestic riot;
For 'tis a maxim long maintain'd,
By statesmen and logicians,
That peace is most securely gain'd,
By vigorous politicians.
O, the Crabstock!
The green immortal Crabstock!
Its sturdy shoot quells all dispute,
The wonder-working Crabstock!

In idleness and youthful hours,
When graver thoughts seem stupid,
Men fly to rose and myrtle bowers,
To worship silly Cupid;
But yok'd for life, and wiser grown,
Crop-sick of sighs and rhyming,
They haunt the crab tree bower alone,
The leafy shrine of Hymen:
O, the Crabstock!
The green immortal Crabstock!
Love bestows the useless rose,
But Hymen gives the Crabstock!

THE OPINIONS OF THE NEGROES ENTERTAINED BY THEIR FIRST DISCOVERERS.

—There is one aspect of the Negro faculties and character, which, for want of materials, has seldom been presented to us; and that is, the aspect of which they presented to the first discoverers of their land. In another work I have given some account of these discoveries: and the circumstance which struck me most in considering the narrative was the respect with which the new race of men was regarded by the old, on their first great meeting since the introduction of Christianity. I do not recollect one instance of abusive or depreciatory language in the contemporary accounts, or in those of the earliest historians. The only distinction which the foremost man in modern geographical discovery, Prince Henry of Portugal, seems to have made between the negroes and any other race, was a religious one. In sending out one of his Captains he tells him, that 'if he should not be able to maintain so many negroes (as had been mentioned) in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he should take them; for whatever number he should get, he would gain souls, because they (the negroes) might be converted to the faith, which could not be managed with the Moors.'

Instances of negro bravery, of negro sagacity, and of some considerable knowledge of the arts of life, occur in this narrative; and if we take the very first account we have of the religious ceremonies and opinions at a negro court, we shall not find it such as to give us a mean idea of the development of the negro mind in that respect, and it may contrast favorably with the religious rites of many savage nations.

It is to be found in the travels of Ca da Mosto, a young Venetian who visited Africa, under Prince Henry's orders, about the middle of the fifteenth century. 'Budomel' (the king of a territory in or near the present Foulah) 'behaved with great complaisance to Ca da Mosto, and carried him into the Mosque: for, towards evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he always has about him, to say prayers. His manner was thus: Being entered into the Mosque, (which was in one of the courts,) with some of the principal negroes, he first stood with his eyes lifted up, then he advanced two steps, and spoke a few words softly; after which, he stretched himself on the ground and kissed it. The Azanaghi, and all the rest, did the same. Then rising, he repeated the same acts over again, ten or twelve times, which took up half an hour. When he had done, he asked the author's opinion of their manner of worship; and to give him some account of his own religion. Hereupon Ca da Mosto told him in presence of his doctors, that the religion of Mohammed was false; and the Romish, the true one. This made the Arabs mad, and Budomel laugh; who, on this occasion, said that he looked upon the religion of the Europeans to be good: for that none but God could have given them so much riches and understanding. He added, however, that the Mohammeden Law must be also good; and that he believed the negroes were more sure of salvation than the Christians, because God was a just Lord: and therefore, as he had given the latter Paradise in this world, it ought to be possessed in the world to come by the negroes, who had scarce anything here, in comparison of the others. In all his discourse he showed a good understanding, and took great pleasure in hearing the customs of the Christians. Ca da Mosto believed he might easily have been converted, were it not for fear of losing his estate; for his nephew, in whose house he lodged, often told him so; and took great delight himself in hearing the author talk of his religion.

A striking indication of the favorable aspect which the negroes presented to their first conquerors and masters is to be found in the account of Bemoin, one of the Princes of the blood royal of Jalof, who came to Lisbon to seek succour from the King of Portugal in consequence of some intestine divisions in the country of Jalof. I take the very words of the Historian. 'Bemoin, because he was a man of large size and fine presence, about forty years old, with a long and well-arranged beard, appeared indeed not like a barbarous pagan, but as one of our own princes, to whom all honor and reverence were due; with like majesty and gravity of demeanor he commenced and finished his oration, with such inducements to make men bewail his sad fortune in exile, that only seeing these natural signs of sorrow, people comprehend what the interpreter afterwards said. And having finished the statement of his case as a good orator would, in declaring that his only remedy and only hope was in the greatness and generosity of the king, with whom he spake aside for a short time, he was answered by the king in a few words, so much to his satisfaction that immediately it made a change in his whole look, spirits, and bearing, rendering him most joyous. And taking leave of the king, he went to kiss the queen's hand, and then that of the prince to whom he said a few words, at the end of which he prayed the prince that he would intercede in his favor with the king. And thence he was conducted to his lodgings by all the nobility that accompanied him.'

Portugal was at that time one of the most important countries in Europe, and of the Portuguese amongst the most accomplished people. From many other facts and considerations which have reference to the Spanish as well as Portuguese, I have no doubt that the first impression produced by the negroes on the Europeans of the 15th century was very dissimilar to that which has since grown up in the minds of their descendants.—'*Friends in Council.*'

Erasmus.—He repeatedly confesses that he had none of the spirit of a martyr; and the acknowledgment is made in the tone of sarcasm, rather than in that of regret. He belonged to that class of actors on the scene of life who have always appeared as the harbingers of great social changes: men gifted with the power to discern, and the hardihood to proclaim, truths of which they want the courage to encounter the infallible results; who outrun their generation in thought, but lag behind it in action; players at the sport of reform so long as reform itself appears at an indefinite distance; more ostentatious of their mental superiority, than anxious for the well being of mankind; dreaming that the dark page of history may hereafter become a fairy tale, in which enchantment will bring to pass a glorious catastrophe, unbought by intervening strife, and agony and suffering; and therefore overwhelmed with alarm when the edifice begins to totter, of which their own hands have sapped the foundation.

He was a Reformer, until the Reformation became a fearful reality: a jester at the bulwarks of papacy, until they began to give way; a propagator of the Scriptures, till men betook themselves to the study and the application of them; depreciating the mere outward forms of religion, until they had come to be estimated at their real value;—in short, a learned, ingenious, benevolent, amiable, timid, irresolute man, who, though compelled to bear the responsibility, resigned to others the glory of rescuing the human mind from the bondage of a thousand years. The distance between his career and that of Luther was, therefore, continually enlarging, until they at length moved in opposite directions, and met each other with mutual animosity.—*Stephen's Essays.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Mr. Samuel Gurney is one of four banking families whose united properties were recently pointed out in the *Circular to Bankers* as exceeding the capital of the Bank of England, while they amounted to five times the capital of the Bank of France.

Jerome Bonaparte's Wife.—Amongst the passengers in the *Canada* was Mrs. Patterson, who was married in 1810 to Jerome Bonaparte, but whom, by a decree of Napoleon, he was compelled to divorce. Jerome is in Paris. Mrs. Patterson is sister-in-law to the Marchioness Wellsley and the Duchess of Leeds.—*Liverpool Courier.*

In a lecture at Southampton on George Fox, Mr. G. Dawson said: "Luther and Fox were gentle—men of whom children were fond—to whom dogs would run—to whom nature was kind. They were feminine men, not effeminate men. Say a man is effeminate, you shame him beyond redemption; but say he is feminine, and you do him honor. So of a woman: call her masculine, and you taunt her; but, like Ben Jonson, say she is 'manly,' and you compliment her."

It may interest some of your literary readers, [says the Edinburg correspondent of the *London News*] to know that Mr. De Quincy is at present in the north, and intends soon, it is said, to publish in *Blackwood* some more astounding "Opium eating Confessions" than any he has yet made. At his period of greatest success, his regular dose was 8000 drops per day! In order to invigorate his injured constitution, he is in the habit of performing a daily walk of eight miles. The man is a living wonder.

Agitation.—Agitation is a giant that cannot die until man's grievances or hopes perish with it. It may shrink for a while by the folly or venality of those who use its name to abuse its power. It may be evoked from its cell for an unwise or an unworthy purpose; but it cannot die. It may be made the pediment to personal power—to individual ambition—instead of affording a foundation to true national greatness. But still it cannot die. It may be seized by the hand of a Phaeton instead of an Apollo, and, in place of cheering and fructifying the earth, it may involve it in confusion and dismay, and hurl its unhappy conductor to destruction. Again we say, in spite of all this, it cannot die.—*Dublin Commercial Journal.*

Lola Montes and her Husband.—The *Assemblée Nationale* gives another letter from its correspondent at Barcelona respecting Lola Montes. It is dated the 20th, and is as follows:

"My previsions are realized. The husband of Lola Montes forty-eight hours after his departure wrote to her from Mataro, imploring pardon. He besought her to allow him to return to her feet. He terminated his epistle thus:—'If you have ever to complain of me, show me this letter, and it will be your talisman.' Mrs. Heald set out next day by the railway, and some hours after brought back Mr. Heald. According to what he states, he declared that others persuaded him to depart, but scarcely had he been separated from his wife when he desired to return. Three times he attempted to escape on the road, but too good a watch was kept over him. At last when he arrived at Mataro, he refused to go any further, and then wrote her the letter alluded to above. When returned to his wife, he complained to her of all those who had persuaded him to break his chain. Mrs. Heald is in the greatest anger; her eyes darted fire; and if ever she meets with those who wanted to separate her husband from her, I do not know what may not happen. It is said that she is about to publish a statement of her late adventures."

The South American Forests.—The forests of the Amazons not only cover the basin of that river, from the Cordillera of Chiquitos to the mountains of Parima, but also its limiting mountain chains, the Sierra Dos Vertentes and Parima, so that the whole forms an area of woodland more than six times the size of France, lying between the eighteenth parallel of south latitude and the seventh of north; consequently, inter-tropical and traversed by the equator. According to Baron Humboldt, the soil, enriched for ages by the spoils of the forest, consists of the richest mould. The heat is suffocating in the deep and dark recesses of these primeval woods, where not a breath of air penetrates, and where, after being drenched by the periodical rains, the damp is so excessive that a blue mist rises in the early morning among the huge stems of the trees, and envelopes the entangled creepers stretching from bough to bough. A death-like stillness prevails from sunrise to sunset; then the thousands of animals that inhabit these forests join in one loud discordant roar, not continuous, but in bursts. The beasts seem to be periodically and unanimously roused by some unknown impulse, till the forest rings in universal uproar. Profound silence prevails at midnight, which is broken at the dawn of morning by another general roar of the wild chorus. The whole forest often resounds when the animals, startled from their sleep, scream in terror at the noise made by bands of its inhabitants flying from some night prowling foe. Their anxiety and terror before a thunder-storm are excessive, and all nature seems to partake in the dread. The tops of the lofty trees rustle ominously, though not a breath of air